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## THE CITY OF ALBANY

### TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF PROGRESS

ALBANY, the capital of the Empire State, situated upon its picturesque group of hills overlooking the Hudson River, is one of the most interesting as well as ancient cities in North America. On the twenty-second day of July of the present year it will have reached its two hundredth birthday, an event of exceptional importance. It received its original city charter from Thomas Dongan, "Captain Generall, Governour-in-Chief and Vice-Admirall of the Province of New Yorke and its Dependencies, under his Majesty, James II.," who made a journey to Albany soon after signing the famous "Dongan Charter" for the City of New York—April 27, 1686. While in conference with the chief men of Albany in relation to the Indian policy to be pursued, a far-sighted policy which was to give New York commercial ascendancy on this continent, the scheme for incorporating the city, long under discussion as we shall learn on a future page, was finally adjusted; and the charter, in accordance with the energetic efforts of its projectors, gave to the new corporation large franchises, including the management of the Indian trade, then esteemed of vital importance to the country at large. The first mayor of the city of Albany was Peter Schuyler; the first city clerk was Robert Livingston, who was also made sub-collector of the King's revenues; the first recorder was Isaac Swinton; the first aldermen, Dirk Wessels, Jan Jans Bleecker, David Schuyler, Johannes Wendell, Lavinus Van Schaick, Adrian Garritse; and Joachim Staats, John Lansing, Isaac Verplanck, Lawrence Van Ale, Albret Ryckman, Melgert Winantse, were assistant aldermen; Jan Bleecker was chamberlain; Richard Pretty, sheriff; and James Parker, marshal.

As early as 1664 the little village had been called Albany, in honor of the Duke of York and Albany, afterward James II. Its first settlement as a trading-post by the Dutch dated back to 1615. Henry Hudson, the English navigator, in the service of the Old Dutch East India Company, was probably the first European whose eyes rested upon the beautiful site of Albany, on the 23d of September, 1609. Dates, however, are but convenient mile-stones for the marking of progress. Time must pass like any

other force in physics; it never rises to the true dignity of a measure of progress. That dignity is reserved for events; yet the events themselves depend upon physical forces, thus making the path of progress like a series of rings, each one overlapping the one behind it, and all pointing toward the grandest results. The very winds that carried Hudson up the noble river which bears his name, were physical forces that broke through the dividing line between the Atlantic sea-board and the Mississippi basin; for at no other point in a distance of a thousand miles, is the ridge of the Alleghenies cleft to the level of the tide, save at the Highlands of the Hudson. The great sea-captain cursed the fate that led him among the shoals of a stream that he fondly imagined a highway to the



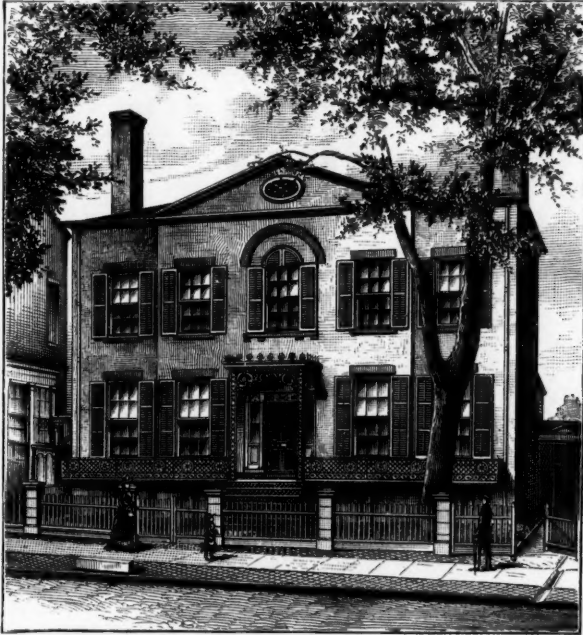
RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR DONGAN.

[In New York City, two hundred years ago.]

Pacific Ocean. Disappointed and disheartened, he turned his prow to the southward without once realizing that he had passed the portals of a continent. To him the narrow gap in the mountains represented the western pillars of Hercules upon which he might write the *Ne Plus Ultra* of his hopes. And so he gladly left the pass without dreaming of the civil and religious forces which were already making that their objective point. Even while he was brooding over his troubles Champlain was sailing toward him on the northern lake; Captain John Smith was advancing the interests of English trade with Jamestown; and the Puritans had arrived in Holland on their tedious way to America.

The forces that stood behind Henry Hudson were of a three-fold nature—commercial, religious and political. Holland was then the leading maritime nation of the world, “the Venice of the North.” De Ruyter and Van Tromp were carrying her flag to the most distant seas, and at home,

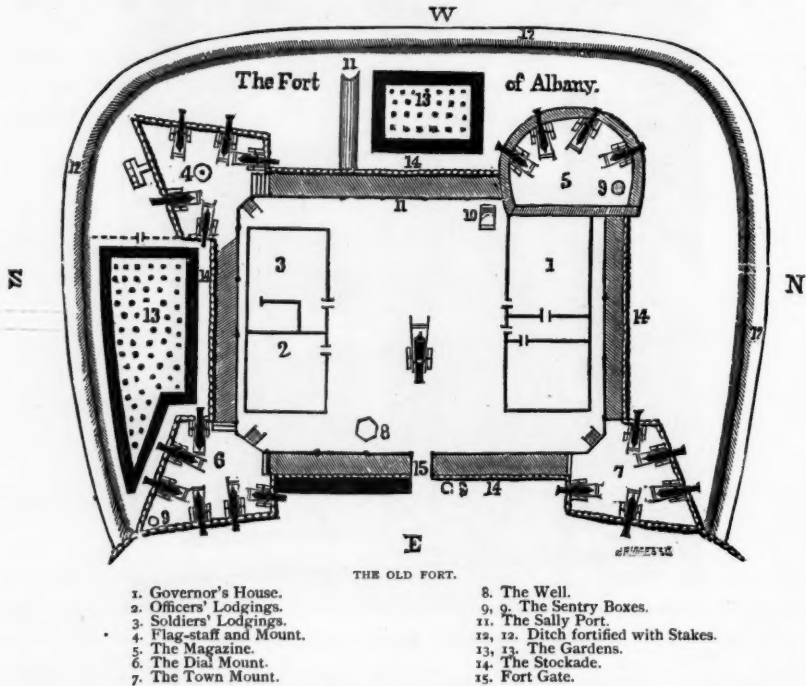
the United Provinces were the center of a civilization that far surpassed that of any other country in Europe. Freedom of religion had been demanded and denied by the imperious policy of Spain, which made the truce of Augsburg a religious peace only in name. Philip II. had run his race, leaving Horn and Egmont as the especial victims of the Dutch effort



RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR TOMKINS, ALBANY.—1807-1817.

for freedom. Barneveldt, the founder of the Dutch Republic, and Grand Pensionary of Holland, was disputing—to his own death—the question of provincial rights. Henry IV. was assassinated. James I., Louis XIII., Gustavus Adolphus, the Emperor Matthias, and the Czar Michael Romanoff were upon the stage in anticipation of the Thirty Years' War. At this critical juncture popular liberty was still a myth. Even James II. trampled upon the assertion of Parliament that its liberties, franchises and jurisdiction were the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England. The fight was between Parliament, with its power to tax, and the Crown, with its judicial and ecclesiastical appendages. In France, the more despotic forms of the feudal system still held control.

In Spain, the prerogatives of the Crown had overcome every semblance of popular rights. The Netherlands alone of all the nations displayed a fair amount of freedom in their constitution; and even that proceeded upon the non-recognition of both the sovereign and the people. The former had neither the judicial nor the ecclesiastical appendages of the British king. Indeed, the judiciary was the supreme political power; and to it

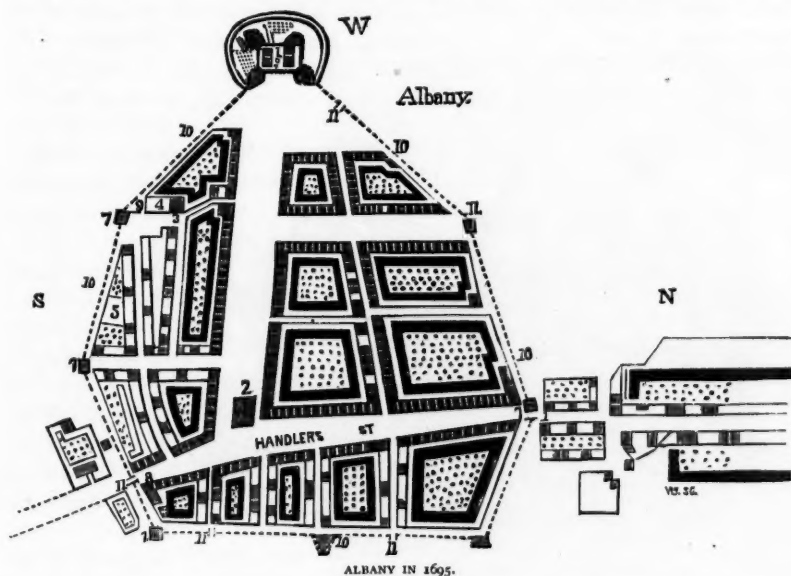


[From Miller's "New York in 1695."]

the Dutch bent the executive, the legislature, and the people. A most efficient adjunct was the feudal system, so thoroughly controlled by law that absolutism was out of the question. The people, while they were protected as classes or guilds, still had no individual rights that the State was bound to respect. As between the different guilds and classes, however, a nice distinction of rights prevailed; for they were all alike responsible to the States-General.

Such was the situation when the Dutch West India Company was char-

tered in 1621, with the exclusive privilege of trading in the western part of Africa and in the American countries. All judicial power for its prospective settlements was vested in a governor and his council; but the latter had no functions independent of the former. The governor, then styled director-general, was, therefore, the high authority which appointed its own executive officers and established inferior courts, with appellate and admiralty jurisdiction in itself. This executive power, while absolute in the



1. The Fort.
2. Dutch Calvinist Church.
3. Dutch Lutheran Church.
4. Burying Place.
5. Dutch Calvinist Burying Place.

7. The Block Houses.
8. The Stadt-house.
9. Great Gun to clear Gulley.
10. The Stockado.
11. Gates of the City, six in number.

New World, was still in complete subservience to the States-General at home. Thus a government with features widely divergent from those of the home government was established in the new province of New Netherland within three years after the granting of its charter. Soon afterward the introduction of the feudal system into the colony gave almost absolute power to the patroons—a power that was speedily curtailed by allowing local governments to the people whenever they should settle in any locality to the required number. At the same time it was announced that no religion save that of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces should

be allowed in New Netherland. In justice to the West India Company it must also be stated that it not only provided ministers and teachers—thus laying the foundation of our common schools—but that it also required of each manorial grant an ample care for religious and other instruction.

For nearly twenty years the governor was the all-sufficient power; and he might have continued in the same comfortable way had not his dependence upon the people been revealed by an Indian war that threatened the destruction of the colony. Confessing his weakness, Governor Kieft recognized the existence of the people by calling together an assemblage of "masters and heads of families." This assemblage, without the first

shadow of legislative authority, delegated its advisory powers to "twelve men,"—a group that stands forth as the prototype of all the representative bodies in New York. The advice of the "twelve men" extended beyond the scope of the Indian war and



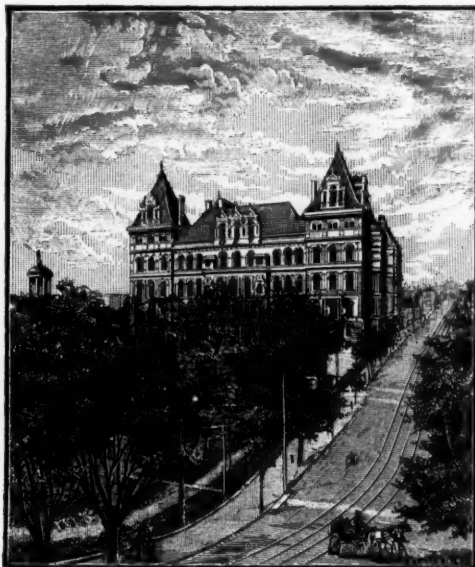
THE OLD STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY. 1809-1883.

took the form of a demand that the people should have a voice in the council, which was the tax-making power, and that they should have the privilege of nominating their own magistrates. Such advice was too much for Kieft, and he promptly dismissed the board. Continued troubles with the Indians forced the governor again to call upon the people for help. The freemen next chose a committee of "eight men," and agreed to abide by their decisions. The new representative body, after disposing of the Indian trouble, aimed its shafts at Kieft, disputed his right to levy taxes, and demanded his recall that the settlers might enjoy the franchises of their brethren in Holland.

It was a critical time in the colony, a time when popular government was to be passed upon by those in authority. Taxation without the con-

sent of the taxed was the crucial question of the hour, which the nations of western Europe were already settling in favor of the people. Kieft had so far yielded to the popular demand as to ask the consent of the "eight men" before he would give a certain revenue act the force of law. This concession marked the first grant of legislative powers to a representative body. A further concession was made when the States-General answered the appeal of the "eight men" by recalling Kieft and allowing the colony to develop the germs of the township system. For that peculiar system of local self-government we are indebted, not to New England, as has been frequently stated, but to Holland itself, where it was a feature of the government long before the settlement of America. Whatever its origin, its promoters in the colonies accomplished more than they intended; for it developed from a mere matter of convenience into one of the most priceless blessings of American citizenship — the right to rule home affairs by home legislation.

When Stuyvesant succeeded Kieft, he reluctantly allowed the people a voice in the government. They were to elect eighteen men from the farmers, burghers, and merchants, thus keeping alive the guild system of the Netherlands. From these eighteen the new director chose "nine men," charging them to look after the good order of the colony, and to promote the interests of the Reformed religion; and very broadly hinted that their advice would be asked whenever the governor and council desired it. On such occasions the nine men acted as a legislative body in approving or rejecting the appropriations of the higher authorities. The governor, feeling that his power was being curtailed, accomplished the removal of the president of the nine men. An appeal of the people



THE NEW STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY.

to the home government was sustained, and Stuyvesant was deprived of his assumed right to levy excise duties. Finally, a burgher government was matured for New Amsterdam, and the city was duly incorporated with two burgomasters, five schepens, and a sheriff who held judicial powers. As the burgomasters were the magisterial rulers of the little city, the governor and his council for a time assumed the arbitrary power of their appointment.

The various settlements within the borders of New Netherland were at first totally distinct and independent of each other. The colonies of New

England were similarly situated, but the necessities of the Pequod war, and the threatened advance of the French resulted in a confederacy of the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven for more effective co-operation against their enemies, as well as to secure "the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace." The dwellers in the outlying English towns of New Netherland about the same time protested against the paying of taxes to the West India Company without the equivalent of protection from the Indians and French. The governor yielded to the demand for a closer union with the



PETER SCHUYLER.  
[First Mayor of Albany.]

metropolis of the province, but merely allowed the delegates to meet and concert measures for the common safety. To the assertion of the delegates that no law should be enacted without the consent of the governed, Stuyvesant said the right to assemble belonged to the magistrates alone, and that the people had no natural rights in the premises. Indignant at what he considered the insolence of agitators, he dismissed the delegates, and forbade any future consultations of the sort in New Amsterdam. The towns appealed to the West India Company, and Stuyvesant was sustained in his authority. New Amsterdam in appealing for "all the privileges granted to the citizens of Old Amsterdam," was allowed some further latitude; but was also informed that the privileges of Old Amsterdam

were not adapted to the wants of a new country. The exigencies of a threatened war soon called the delegates from the towns together again, and a statement of the hazardous condition of the colony was sent to the authorities in Holland. But at that moment the fleets of Charles II. were already on their way to American shores, and Dutch New Amsterdam capitulated to the English flag, and became New York.

At the time of the English conquest, the Dutch had prepared the way for the immediate demand that the elective franchise for the local magistrates should be granted, and that a general assembly of the new Province of New York should be ordered. The latter became a reality in 1683; and among the first of its legislative acts was that assertion of the sovereignty of the people known as "the charter of liberties," approved by the governor, but protested against in vain by the Duke of York, who had become James II. In the following year, 1684, Robert Livingston and Peter Schuy-



ROBERT LIVINGSTON.

*[First Town Clerk of Albany]*

ler, two of the principal men of Albany, were sent to New York to tell Governor Dongan that the town of Albany had erected at its own expense, a meeting-house, a watch-house, and a stadt-house or town hall. For this reason, and for other reasons, it was urged that a charter should be issued, giving to the town the full privileges of a city. The governor thought so well of the proposition that he reported it favorably to the Privy Council, using these words in regard to the matters at issue with Rensselaerwick :

"The town of Albany lyes within the Ranslaer's colony, and to say the truth the Ranslaers had the right to it, for it was they settled the place, and upon a petition of one of them to our present king (King James II.), about Albany the petitioner was referred to his Majesty's council-at-law, who, upon perusal of the Ranslaer papers, made their return that it was their opinion that it did belong to them. By the means of Mr. James Graham, Judge (John) Palmer and Mr. (Stephanus Van) Cortlandt that have great influence on the people, I got the Ranslaers to release their pretence to the town, and fifteen miles into the country for commons to the king, with liberty to cut fire-wood into the colony for one and twenty years."

The question was not settled at once. There were several interviews, and the details were discussed with much spirit on both sides. But the result was the incorporation of the City of Albany in 1686, as before stated. The record of the first meeting of the justices of the peace after the granting of the charter is specially interesting in this connection. "In nomine domino Jesu Christi Amen. Att a meeting of ye justices of ye peace for ye County of Albany ye 29th day of July A.D. 1686. Pieter Schuyler gent. & Robt Livingston gentn. who were commissioned by ye towne of Albanie to goe to New Yorke & procure ye charter for this citty wh. was agreed upon between ye magistrates and ye Right Honle. Col. Tho. Dongan, Govr. Genll. who accordingly have broght the same along with them, & was publishd with all ye joy & acclamations imagineable, & ye said two gentn. received ye thanks of ye magistrates & burgesses for their diligence & care in obtaining ye same; and whereas Pieter Schuyler is nominated & appointed to be mayr. of ye Citty of Albany by ye said charter, till such time that anyr. fitt pson be chosen in his room was sworn as follows:—whereas you Pieter Schuyler are appointed & commissioned to be Mayr. & Clerk of ye Market & Coroner of ye Citty of Albany, as also Coroner for ye sd. county, by ye charter granted to ye sd citty by ye Right Honll. Coll. Tho. Dongan, Govr. Genll. of this province, you doe swear by ye ever-living God, yt. ye will truly endeavor to ye best of ye skill with a good consience & according to the laws of this governmt, dispence justice equally in all cases & to all psons whereunto by virtue of yr. office you are impoured, & further officiat & perform yr. duty & office of Mayor, Clerk of ye Market & Coroner in every respect to ye best of yr knowlegd & capacity, so help yu God."

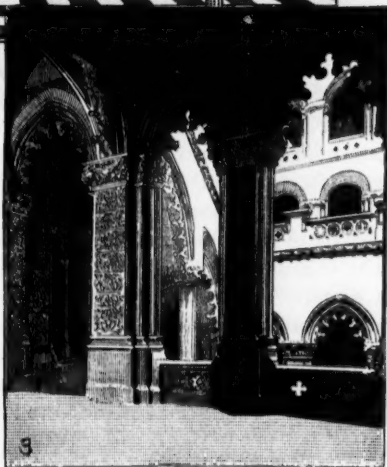
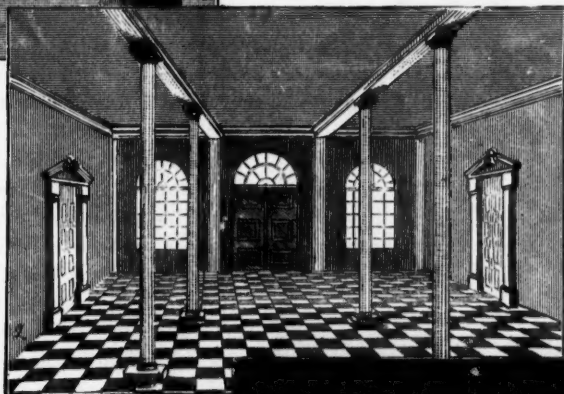
We have noted how the commercial, the religious, and the political forces acted upon New Netherland—inapt name for a country that stood far above the level of the sea—and how these forces influenced the growth



and prosperity of Albany. But what of the physical forces? What, in nature, was the *raison d'être* of this little inland city? Why should Albany have been of more importance than Montreal, when each city equally marked the extreme limit of the ocean's tides? The answer forms the most interesting chapter of our inquiry. Long before the time of Verrazzano, the Italian who disputed with Hudson the honor of first furrowing the waters

of the North River, the Indians had named it "the river of the mountains." Champlain was called "the lake that is the gate of the country."

These forest kings knew that the dividing line between the two valleys was an easy portage for their canoes; but it was reserved for the white man to discover that if the ridge should sink one hundred and fifty feet there would be water communication all the way from New York to Montreal, thus making a vast island of the maritime provinces and New England. During



1. EAST ENTRANCE HALL TO NEW CAPITOL.
2. MAIN ENTRANCE HALL TO OLD CAPITOL.
3. GRAND STAIRCASE IN NEW CAPITOL.

the French and Indian wars Lake Champlain was the route for the carrying of artillery; and when invasion came the enemy was obliged to take that route or the more circuitous one by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River. The Mohawk itself was a strategic point, and the Iroquois were wise when they built their castles along its route. From this valley it was a comparatively easy matter to destroy their enemies in detail, from the Eries on the west to the Delawares on the south. Stream after stream was descended till they held in their power more territory than any conqueror has possessed since the days of the great Cæsar.



SILVER VASE.

[Presented to Mayor Peter Schuyler, in 1710, by Queen Anne.]

To-day we may spin along at forty miles an hour over the same route that the Iroquois chose for their errands of conquest—for the turnpike, the canal, and the railroad have only replaced the trails of the red man.

Washington discovered the strategic importance of the State of New York long before the battle of Oriskany prevented St. Leger from joining Burgoyne, who came by way of Lake Champlain in order to meet Howe before Albany. If the junction of these forces had not been arrested by Herkimer and Gates, New England would have been cut off from the other colonies, the valley of the Mohawk would have been devastated, and the Revolution would have been a failure. Defeat at Sara-

toga would have prevented the alliance of France. Victory at Saratoga assured this alliance and secured victory in the end. In the War of 1812 the British once more attempted to make an island of New England; but the battle of Plattsburgh spoiled their schemes for reversing the topography of the country. In fact, it was the very topography of New York that was directly responsible for those warlike events that made Albany the strategic capital of the colonies. Upon its site was the ancient "place of treaty," where gathered all the red men between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The hills bore the beacon-lights that gave warning of an invasion or notice of a projected raid. The importance of this fron-



EXECUTIVE CHAMBER IN NEW STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY.

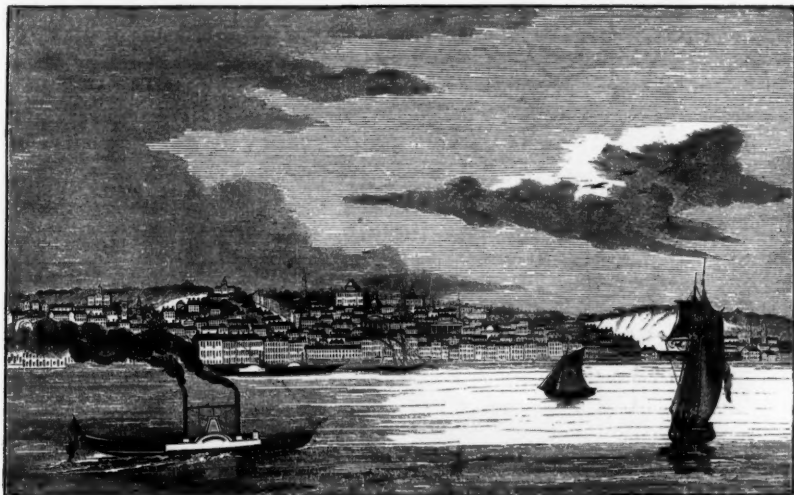
tier city was acknowledged by all the colonies, no matter to what nationality they belonged; but Albany did not become the actual military capital of the colonies till that memorable Congress of 1754, which federated the British colonies against the French and furnished the germ that developed into the American Union.

The same topography that was responsible for the existence of Albany has also been responsible for the physical appearance of the city and for some of the customs of its inhabitants. The attrition of sand upon the clay bottoms of the several considerable streams that empty into the Hudson River, caused the cutting of clay into ravines at right angles to the river and also the raising of sand-hills at intervals. The filtration of the surface-water through the sand has eaten the clay and destroyed many a good foundation. Another danger, to builders, has always been an exceedingly dry summer; for they fear shrunken clay more than they fear the frost of winter. There are many instances where they have saved their work by an iron water-pipe so laid as to keep the foundations moist in the time of a drought. A still further danger, in building, is the finding of an occasional pocket of quick-sand in the solid clay, in which case nothing but the driving of piles will avail. Hence, when some new crack, an inch or more wide, is discovered in the Capitol Park, the story is revived that Albany is sliding downhill, and that it is only a question of time when

even the Capitol itself will lie in the bed of the Hudson. It has taken Albany over two hundred years to discover the remedy, in the recent abandonment of surface drainage and the building of sewers that are worthy of the name. The quality of the water supply, also, shows a great improvement over the time when the drainage of the city stood in wells and was drawn by the family at the "pent stock," by the rear stoop, or at the pumps on the public highways. Horace Greeley, when he was a journeyman printer, is said to have washed himself at the pump near the foot of State Street. Travelers of one hundred and fifty years ago, speak of the acrid and infusorial water. It was not till within seventy years that the Albanians thought of damming one of the creeks and leading the water through a four-inch bore in logs, laid end to end, to a reservoir on the hillside. And when the logs gave out they imposed upon the old patroon, whose stream they had tapped, and doubled their supply of water by replacing two four-inch log-pipes with one eight-inch iron pipe!

Our notion of Albany, if we are not familiar with the city and its inhabitants, is that of a quaint old town known successively as Aurania, Beverwyck, Fort Orange, Williamstadt, and Albany. As to the inhabitants our ideas, if borrowed from the fascinating pages of *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, are much mixed with the time when Wouter Van Twiller ambled through the streets of Manahatta; when Killian Van Rensselaer sailed proudly by the indignant Wouter, on his way to establish Fort Aurania, just below Albany; when Oloffte, the dreamer, gave to the Indians the significant sign of St. Nicholas, by laying his finger to his nose and winking with one eye; or when Anthony, the trumpeter, as the ambassador of Wouter to demand the instant surrender of Fort Aurania, received from Nicholas Koorn, the wacht-meester, the cabalistic reply, described by applying the thumb to the nose and making an "aerial flourish" with the fingers, a reply that the ambassador faithfully carried to his chief. But we shall modify such early impressions as we study the progress of the settlement during two centuries. The new city was officially bounded on the east by the Hudson River. The southern boundary extended from the northern end of Martin Gerrilson's island for fifteen English miles in a north-westerly direction to a certain kill or creek called Sandkill. The northern line extended from a post erected by Governor Stuyvesant near the Hudson River, fifteen miles to the westward. The western boundary completed the parallelogram by connecting the western extremities of the north and south lines. Along the river a row of rude wharves was soon built. A map of 1696 shows that the fort stood half-way up State Street hill, and that the stockades ran divergently to Steuben Street on the north,

and to Hudson Avenue on the south. When the French and Indian wars brought additional dangers, the line of stockades was extended to Hamilton Street on the south, and to Van Tromp Street on the north—the latter marking the boundary between the city and the colony. A century later—at the close of the Revolution—the old fort had been removed, but all to the westward of Eagle Street was a series of steep bluffs. Even within the memory of the living, lower State and central Pearl Street were lined with fashionable residences. Arch Street bounded the city on the south, and the city had grown scarcely half-way up the hill. To-day it has grown



VIEW OF ALBANY IN THE EARLY PART OF THIS CENTURY.

over the crest and far beyond on the decline to the westward. Thus progress marks the hour, even in conservative old Albany.

As the strategic capital of the colonies, Albany has figured in most stirring scenes; although it has never been captured by an enemy, nor has it ever been in a state of siege. Its first Mayor, Peter Schuyler, took a French fort at La Prairie and, returning, ended his official report with "*so-li Deo laus et gloria*." The same soldier, while Mayor, became Major of the five hundred and fifty-nine men who formed the militia of the city. Then came General Winthrop, of Connecticut, on his way to help retaliate for the massacre at Schenectady. But, thanks to Arent Van Curler, one of the patroon's earliest agents, no Indian ever laid his hand on the inhabi-

tants of Albany. All down the long line of wars, the little stockaded hamlet was the base of military operations; and so great was its importance that Lady Johnson insisted on remaining inside the walls so that she might convey information to the Tories outside. No wonder, then, that Albany has always fostered a military spirit, and that her citizen-soldiery of to-day are not excelled, either in drill or in discipline, by any in the country. The very strategic importance of the place led to the development of its commercial importance; and so the fortunes of war and



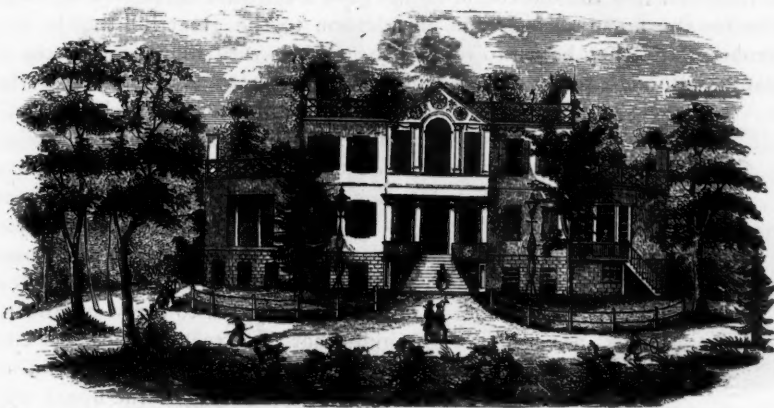
RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR MARTIN VAN BUREN.

[The Old Stevenson House on State Street, 1780-1841.]

peace favored it alike. Here the Indians were always well treated, and the trade in furs grew rapidly. A portage of only twelve miles enabled the Albany trader to take his goods to Montreal and sell them at a double rate. The ingenious plan of Louis XIV. to destroy the trade with the Indians failed, in a great degree, because the French were obliged to buy in Albany and send to the West by way of Montreal. The skipper invariably figured out the cost of transportation with the barrel of rum as the unit of value. The names of many of the commodities of those days would be lost now; for we are puzzled to know what the "ratteens," the "tammies" and the "millinets" of the last century's merchant, represented. Breweries multiplied so fast that every public building was threatened with

a dome like a huge beer-kettle. Other industries grew, because Albany had ceased to be a frontier town. Manufactures of stoves were developed, and in this line and in the lumber trade the city led the world.

Once more we must hold the location of Albany responsible, and this time for some of the greatest inventions that have ever benefited the world. Early in our inquiry we saw that the later methods of travel—the stage and the railroad—followed the trail of the Indian. The Erie Canal, the locks of which overcame the portage between the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, was of as much benefit to Albany as to the city of New York. The first successful railroad in the country, the “Mohawk and



RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR WM. H. SEWARD.

[The Old Kane House as it appeared in 1864, when taken down.]

Hudson,” ran across the same portage from Albany to Schenectady; but it was obliged to use an inclined plane at either end. The failure of steam traction up the inclines was no lesson, for a like failure marked the attempt fifty years later, to use steam power for hauling stones to the new Capitol. Finally the railroad found an outlet, up the valley of the patroon’s creek, and that ended the rivalry of the stage-coach forever. A generation before this, Fulton and Livingston had perfected their steam-boat and it had reached Albany—the scene of most of their study and consultation. In Albany, too, was fought and overcome, for those days at least, the monopoly principle; and Livingston and Fulton were denied the exclusive use of steam on the Hudson. The electric telegraph, also, was developed by Professor Henry, under the care of the Albany Institute, before Professor Morse had advanced it to a stage of usefulness.

Albany has always had a conspicuous appearance as seen from across the river. Edward A. Freeman said: "On the whole the American city that struck me the most was Albany." The ups and downs of the streets as they cross the deep ravines, can best be understood by trying to make a plane surface of a square mile when some points within its area are thirteen feet above tide-water and other parts are as high as two hundred and five feet. So steep are some of the grades that no drive-way has been attempted, and access to the houses is by stairs, as in Quebec. Right here we note one of the chief points that mark the progress of Albany. The year 1885 brought a radical change in the system of pavements; for the Albanians had learned that the old cobble-stones gave a constant succession of small hills for the horse to overcome in addition to the great hill that he was climbing. So they began to replace the cobbles with dimension-blocks of granite, although many a man still shakes his head and fears that the



ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

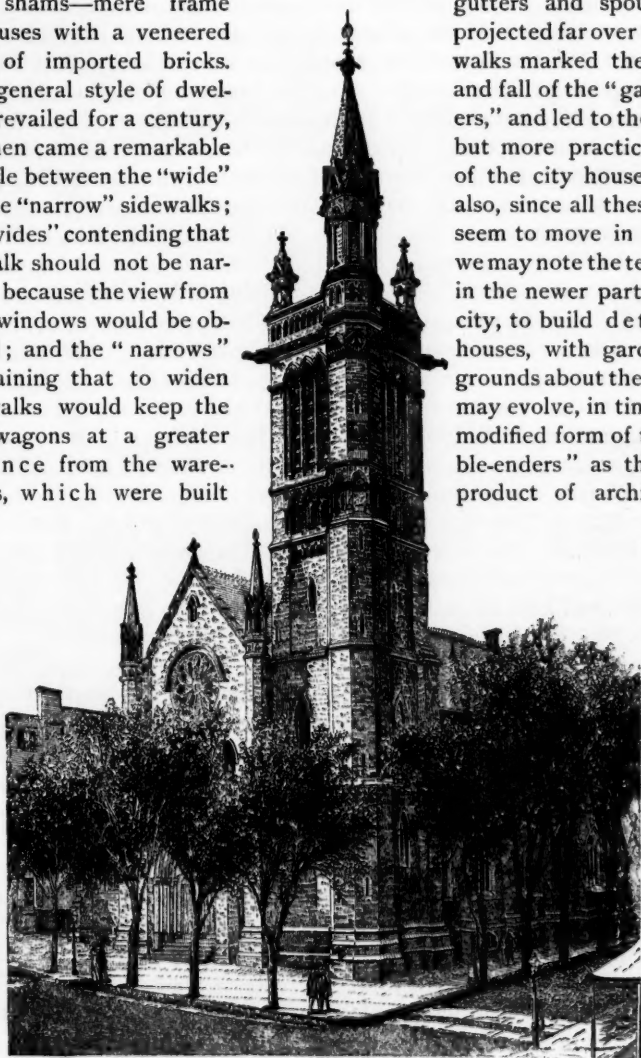
Built in 1715.

horse cannot manage to keep his feet on such a smooth surface as is now offered to him. Modern engineering has also thrown aside the former practice of laying one curb-stone below the other simply because the street lies at right angles to the slope of the hill. It is said that the constant tread of the Albanians up and down the hills for several generations has so developed their muscles that they are well prepared to throw overboard any stranger who hints that the streets of the lower city were laid out by the cows instead of following the line of stockades—who speaks of the blocks of the upper city as "squares;" or who asserts that the ladies lack grace of motion, owing to the grades that they must overcome. It is certain that, slow as Albany may be in some respects, the streets are now more thoroughly lighted with electricity than those of any other city in America; and that the municipal government is generous enough to allow the use of many of the hills for "bob-sledding" in the winter. But it will probably be a century hence before Albanians cease to name their streets after birds and animals, and come down to the modern idea that streets are for the convenience of the horse. When they once learn this they will cease to have any historical interest in their streets, and will thenceforth know them only by simple numbers.

A no less notable instance of the growth of Albany is shown in the gradual change from the old "gable-enders" to houses of modern architecture. The story is told that formerly the two rows of houses were far enough apart; but that they were gradually built nearer like a *fuyck*; hence

the town was called "the fuyck" for many years. The old gable-enders were shams—mere frame log-houses with a veneered front of imported bricks. That general style of dwelling prevailed for a century, and then came a remarkable struggle between the "wide" and the "narrow" sidewalks; the "wides" contending that the walk should not be narrowed because the view from cellar windows would be obscured; and the "narrows" maintaining that to widen the walks would keep the grain-wagons at a greater distance from the warehouses, which were built

among the dwellings. The decree of the Common Council against the gutters and spouts that projected far over the sidewalks marked the decline and fall of the "gable-enders," and led to the severe, but more practical, lines of the city house. Here also, since all these things seem to move in a circle, we may note the tendency, in the newer parts of the city, to build detached houses, with garden and grounds about them. This may evolve, in time, some modified form of the "gable-enders" as the latest product of architectural

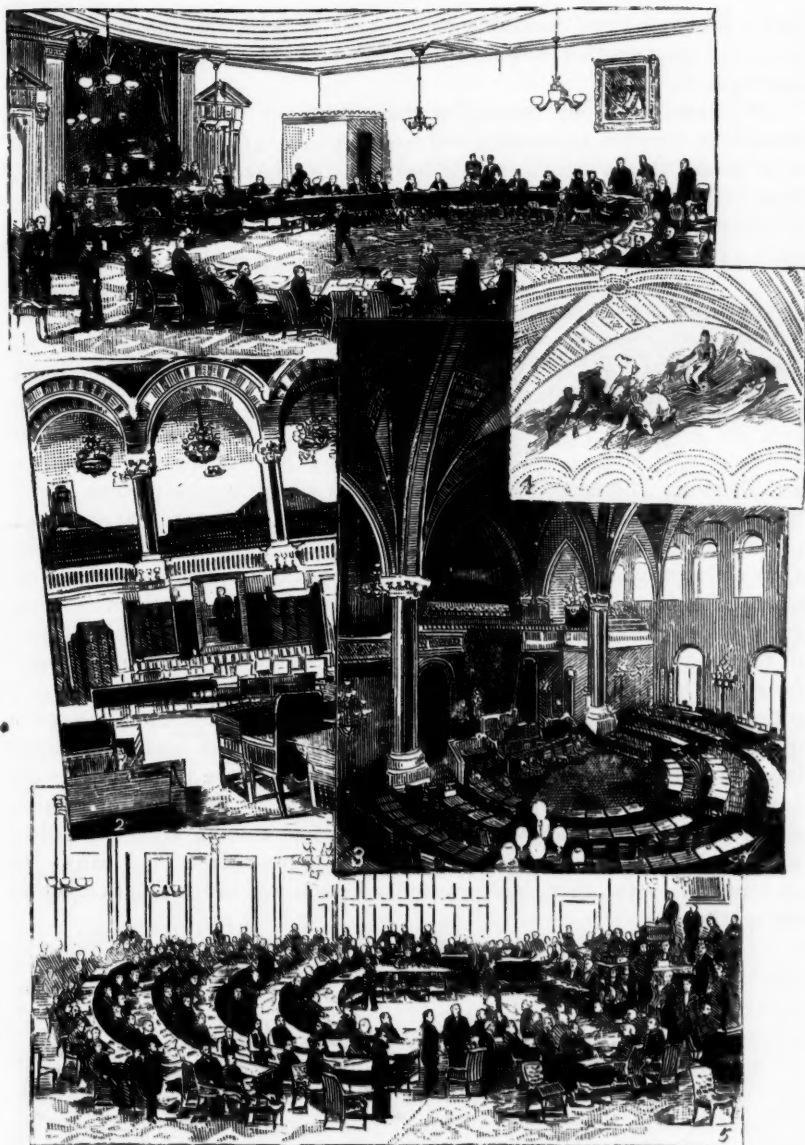


ST. PETER'S CHURCH, OF THE PRESENT.

art. The old houses of a generation ago, with their picturesque effects, are all gone, with the exception of the Van Rensselaer manor-house, the Schuyler mansion, the Pemberton trading-house, and the oldest of all, the Staats-house. A few of the plainer houses are left, like the Philip Van Rensselaer; but the demolition among the more characteristic of the old houses during the last seventy years has brought sadness to the student of history. The destroyed list contains residences that were known by the names of Stevenson, Yates, Livingston, Lydius, Vanderheyden, Wendell, Pruyn, Van Vechten, Fonda, Banyar, McNaughton, and Roseboom. A like change is observable in the public buildings; but even these lasted long enough to show the conservatism of the Albanians. The old capitol was the third building of its character during the two hundred years. One branch of the Old Dutch Church is worshipping in its third edifice within that period; and the other, in its fourth. Thus progress is illustrated.

After New York became a state of the American Union the legislature was migratory for many years—Albany, Poughkeepsie, Kingston, and New York having about equal division of the honors. Albany was made the permanent capital in 1797, and the old State-House in Broadway was occupied for many years; then the Old Capitol was occupied for seventy years, and finally the New Capitol, in 1879.

Many other noteworthy events have occurred within the limits of Albany. Here Lafayette dwelt for many months when he was a major-general in the Continental Army, although he had not reached the age of twenty-one, and here he received his grandest ovation on his return in later years. Hither came Washington, for a final visit, when at the close of the war he took that memorable journey on horseback across the water-sheds of the Hudson, the Mohawk and the Susquehanna, and returned to Newburgh, prophesying the future greatness of the State. Here was first played the tune of "Yankee Doodle," as a musical sarcasm upon the New England troops who joined the New Yorkers in a common effort against the French. Burgoyne's capture was rendered the more significant by his arrival in Albany, where he expected to have had his Christmas dinner. His Hessians were sent through Albany and far to the southward into Virginia by routes away from the river for fear of a rescue by the enemy. The head and soul of the "War of 1812"—Governor Tompkins—carried on his plans in Albany, and, at a later day, Webster, Clay, and other political giants, were the city's visitors. To Albany were brought the sacred remains of Lord Howe, General Montgomery, President Lincoln, and General Grant. On Saturday, the 22d of July, 1786, the corporation and citizens of Albany celebrated the centennial anniversary of its incorporation



1. SENATE IN SESSION, OLD CAPITOL.—2. SENATE CHAMBER OF THE NEW CAPITOL.—3. ASSEMBLY CHAMBER OF THE NEW CAPITOL.—4. ALLEGORICAL FRESCO, NEW ASSEMBLY CHAMBER.—5. ASSEMBLY IN SESSION, OLD CAPITOL.

with a procession and banquets, the ringing of bells, and the booming of guns, and now another hundred years has brought us to its bi-centennial anniversary.

We have purposely omitted a roll-call of the prominent clergymen, physicians, lawyers journalists, and business men in general whose names have made Albany famous. Nor have we compared the old Dutch customs with the modern, except in a few salient points. Our task has been to sketch development, rather than detail, and, for that reason, we could not note many incidents that might appeal to local pride. Nothing could



CAPITAL OF PIER.

be more interesting than the growth of trade and business since Cornelius Van Steenwyck owned large blocks in Albany; no history could be more instructive than the story of religion from the time the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis became the first minister in Albany,

and Dominie Polhemus was fighting for his salary, in what is now Brooklyn, while his parishioners complained of prayers that were too short and too attenuated. We must conclude as we began. Nature gave to Albany a pre-eminent place in history. In founding the city and keeping it free from entanglements with the Indians, the Dutch builded better than they knew. The closing of a second hundred years, with grand achievements in the past and extensive improvements in the present, is a fit occasion for doing these founders justice. The Holland methods may have been a trifle slow for to-day, but Dutch conservatism saved the State in many a trying hour. The lessons taught by this people have been thoroughly learned. The hundred years that are to come will prove the success or the failure of popular government. New questions of immense importance already cast their shadows in the horizon. The coming struggles will be watched by no American more keenly than by the citizen of Albany. In all that makes for peace and prosperity he will join every other citizen in the sentiment :

" And cast in some diviner mold,  
May the new cycle shame the old."

*Frederic G. Mather.*

## ANTHONY WAYNE

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD]

Among the Continental generals or prominent commanders in the American Revolutionary War, there were two *born*-soldiers, equally remarkable for their instinctive conception of the requirements and the duties of the profession. The first, Arnold, was very highly estimated by General Armstrong, author of *The Newburgh Letters*. He was famous for his march through the wilds of Maine to the support of Montgomery before Quebec in 1775; for his successful march to the relief of Fort Stanwix in 1777; and as the real hero and victor *in the field*, over Burgoyne, in both the battles commonly known as Stillwater or Saratoga, in the same year. The other and the superior, was Anthony Wayne, best known as the captor of Stony Point in 1779, but worthy of higher notice for his maneuvering against "the great and good" Cornwallis in Virginia, especially at Green Spring in 1781, and in his victory on the Miami in 1794. Wayne was a soldier, and, in the field, he was that and nothing else. All his instincts were military; the breath of his nostrils was war, and he snuffed up the battle afar off, like the war-horse in Job. Like a true and chivalric soldier, he was a gentleman in his instincts, clean, neat, and even prinky; somewhat of a martinet without a real martinet's inflexibility.

Self-constituted judges who cannot see beyond the surface—cannot look into the depths—called him "*Dandy Wayne*," forgetting that in very many cases dandyism or even finical attention to dress, is one of the qualities that enter into the composition of a real hero. In a letter to Washington, upon the subject of a Light Corps, Wayne developed his "insuperable bias in favor of an elegant uniform and soldierly appearance; so much so that I would much rather risk my life and reputation at the head of the same men, in an attack, clothed and appointed as I could wish, merely with bayonets and a single charge of ammunition, than to take them as they appear in common, with sixty rounds of cartridges. It may be a false idea, but I cannot help cherishing it." Hepburn, one of the best officers of Gustavus Adolphus, was so much of a "dandy" that the king rebuked his ultra attention to appearance in clothes and arms so sharply that the Scot was induced to throw up his commission, and although the king, "ate humble pie," and apologized and even condescended to ask Hepburn to assist him with his courage, coolness, and comprehension to avert a disaster

at Nurnberg, Hepburn, while he responded to the royal request, still persisted in leaving the Swedish service, and went where he could dress and plume himself as he pleased. Others called Wayne "Mad Anthony," which was exactly the epithet, *der Tolle*, applied to Helmold Wrangel, who was one of the boldest, ablest, and most enterprising commanders in the Swedish Army, when it was considered the best in the world and the finest school for officers; and also to Duke Christian, of Brunswick, whose superior never led a cavalry charge. Murat was a fool to him. Mad as they elected



ANTHONY WAYNE

*Major-General and Third General-in-Chief U. S. A.*

to style Duke Christian, he was as marvelous a creator of armies as if he almost possessed the art of evoking them, as Glendower boasted he could call spirits from the vasty deep. Wayne was a soldier; Arnold was anything and everything, from general to jockey; ready to turn his hand to anything that promised to pay; smart enough for every occasion, and successful where it depended entirely upon himself. Both were full of soldierly instincts, but entirely different in sentiment and principle. While they could use inadequate material to advantage at crises, they likewise could soon convert it into adequate, and then they could use every kind of material, or personal, to better advantage than any of their associates. Wayne was the Prince Leopold of Glogau; the Chevert of Prague; the Laudon of Schweidnitz; and, withal, the Davoust of Auerstadt.

He was under a cloud for a short time for his mishap at Paoli, but if any general can find an excuse for permitting his troops to be surprised, Wayne was excusable on that occasion. There may have been other officers in the Continental Army occupying subordinate positions—who might have developed, with opportunity, into illustrious leaders, equal to great professional chiefs; but destiny denied to them the chances or occasions which were necessary for them to develop and exhibit their capacity to plan and to lead.

Wayne had a proper descent for a soldier. His grandfather was a native of Yorkshire, England, whose people have always been noted for manliness and a certain smartness which ranges between praiseworthy astuteness and simple cunning. Early in life he emigrated to Ireland and settled in the County of Wicklow, the next south of Dublin. His business was farming, but he filled civil as well as military offices, and commanded a squadron (company?) of dragoons in the Battle of the Boyne—one of the most notable collisions in the world, which ought to rank in the class of decisive battles, because, *immediately*, it settled the fate of Ireland and the Stuart dynasty, *mediately*, that of England, and *remotely*, that of the whole world. In serving under William III., Wayne must have profited by observing one of the greatest exemplars of our race; to whom Freedom owes more than most men can conceive, and who, as Hallam admits, "honored the British Crown by wearing it." This Captain, or Major Anthony Wayne, emigrated a second time, and in 1722, came out to America, purchased an extensive realty in Chester County, Province of Pennsylvania, and of these lands assigned a portion to each of his four sons. He must have been a man of means and of a judgment fitted for his position. As well as he had done his duty in civil office and as a soldier, he performed it in private life. He gave a good education to his boys, and he left them well settled in life. "His youngest son, Isaac Wayne, father of the American general, was a man of strong mind, great industry, and enterprise. He frequently represented the County of Chester in the Provincial Legislature, and, in the capacity of a commissioned officer, repeatedly distinguished himself in expeditions against the Indians. He was at all times celebrated for his patriotism and universally admired for his integrity. After a long life of usefulness to his country, family, and friends, he died in the year 1774, leaving one son and two daughters."

This only son was Major-General Anthony Wayne, born in the township of East Town, Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1st January, 1745. It is to be feared that he was a wild slip, and he gave a great deal of trouble to his uncle, Gabriel Wayne, to whom his education was committed, who, for

his fighting proclivities and military aspirations, threatened to dismiss him from his school as incorrigible. Fortunately beneath these animal spirits lay a firm basis of good sense. The judicious arguments of his father converted him into a diligent student. He took a great interest in mathematics, a token of a strong mind, and the nephew, whom the uncle threatened to dismiss, in eighteen months had mastered all that the preceptor could teach. From this school, he was transferred to the Philadelphia Academy, and as early as sixteen he was considered fit to go out into the world and grapple with its exigencies. At the date of the Declaration of Independence, Wayne was in the prime of life, between thirty-one and thirty-two. At thirty he was colonel of a regiment of volunteers, which dated from September, 1775. In 1776, his regiment was accepted by Congress, and he received his commission as Continental, that is regular colonel.

The stories of Wayne's boyhood \* resemble those told of Napoleon Bonaparte. He engaged his fellow-scholars in games of mimic war and turned their heads with imitations in miniature of military operations. The arguments and influence of a sensible father repressed the ardor of the son, and induced him to study diligently. At the age of eighteen (1763) he returned home from the Philadelphia Academy with an amount of information valuable for the times and their requirements, and at once found himself fitted to become a successful civil engineer, or as it was then termed, a land surveyor. A number of the great and successful men of the Revolutionary times began their careers as surveyors—Washington, the most notable example. In March, 1765, although only just entering upon his twenty-first year, he was selected by the practical Benjamin Franklin to proceed to Nova Scotia, as agent, and survey a large body of land in that province, with the object of its settlement through an association consisting of many wealthy and distinguished persons. His labors continued through the available portions of two years, and resulted most satisfactorily for the interests of his employers.

At Christ Church, Philadelphia, 25th March, 1766, Anthony Wayne married the daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, a merchant of note in

\* The best, most interesting and most detailed Life of Major-General Anthony Wayne appeared in *The Casket, Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment*, published by S. C. Atkinson. Philadelphia, in volumes for 1829 and 1830. The numbers containing the biography of General Wayne were collected in a neat volume illustrated with newspaper cuttings, maps and portraits of Wayne and deposited in the Geological Library, Governors' Island, by A. W. Vogdes, U. S. Artillery, whose father, Brigadier-General I. Vogdes, U. S. A., of Pennsylvania, is a great nephew of General Anthony Wayne, and is full of valuable anecdotes in connection with the general's career. The best portrait, according to the family subscript "General Anth'y Wayne," was engraved by Edwin, but there was no indication of where it appeared. If the relatives of the general are correct, then none of the generally received pictures give any idea of the man.

Philadelphia, and went to farming in the county (Chester) in which he was born. For the next six or seven years his time was divided between the plow and the theodolite, and with the latter he won quite a local and justified celebrity. During the same period he held a number of the highest county offices, and took an active part in the proceedings which prepared so many minds for revolution. He was one of the provincial deputation, chosen in 1774, to confer on the state of affairs between the colonies and the mother country, growing constantly more and more alarming, and was also member of the Pennsylvania Convention, held at Philadelphia, on matters in the same connection. He was elected from Chester County as a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1774-5; and in the summer of 1775 he was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety, in which he was associated with Dr. Franklin, John Dickinson, better known, perhaps, for his writings as the "Philadelphia Farmer," and other prominent individuals.

Meanwhile Wayne was studying every book on military matters to which he could gain access, and devoting all his leisure time to drilling every person who had any predilection for military service. His personal character, his courage, and his energy, backed by his attainments, to which the great majority were utter strangers, procured him the position of Colonel of the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, organized for expected service. As before stated as soon as the drift of public affairs, and the skirmish at Lexington, 19th April, 1775, made war an accomplished fact, Congress accepted his regiment and commissioned him its colonel.

Although not a large man, and little above what is usually considered middle size, Wayne was a striking figure. "His portrait by Charles Peale is by far the best likeness. He had a fine, animated, pleasing countenance, dark hair, dark hazel eyes, expressing intelligence and penetration, and a nose inclined to aquiline. His natural disposition was amiable, his manners refined, his character determined and enterprising, and in his attachments he was ardent and sincere." He took part in the unfortunate Canada campaign of 1776, in which he distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct, and was severely wounded. When the Colonial forces, after abandoning Canada, were concentrated at Ticonderoga, General Schuyler confided the command of this important post and its dependencies to Colonel Wayne. On 21st February, 1777, Congress conferred on him the rank of brigadier-general. He continued in command at Ticonderoga from November, 1776, until May, 1777, when he was ordered to join General Washington in New Jersey. On leaving he was the recipient of an address signed by all the field officers, couched in the most affectionate

and flattering terms. He soon acquired the confidence of Washington and of the troops. This he continued to deserve, and he greatly distinguished himself on various occasions. In command of a division, Wayne took an important part in the battle of the Brandywine, 11th September, 1777. According to critical judgment, Wayne's brigade was one of the most conspicuous for its resolute bearing and effect in this action, and set an example which unfortunately was not imitated by others, whose commanders have claimed for *their* exertions on this field a credit which no one denied to Wayne.

The catastrophe which first brought him conspicuously before the country, is best known as the "Surprise at Paoli's Tavern," styled by the British the "Attack upon the Rebels near the White Horse Tavern" from the "British camp at Trudruffrin." Military experts have established, as a rule, that no officer can justify himself for permitting an enemy to take him by surprise, but there must be an exception to this in the case of Wayne. Sufficient to say Washington had assigned to him the duty of harassing the British rear and attempting to cut off his baggage. There is no doubt but that the Colonial troops were acting under the same disadvantages as those experienced by the Union forces when operating in Virginia and other Southern States during the "Slave-holders' Rebellion." In many instances the feelings of the inhabitants were favorable to the British. The result was they concealed the movements of the Royal forces from Wayne, and served as spies and guides for the latter. Wayne's defense before the court-martial which "acquitted him with honor," is perhaps the best account of the affair extant.

In the battle of Germantown he did all that an officer could do to secure the victory which the Americans claim was at one time within their grasp, and slipped as it were between their fingers, and in covering their retreat used every exertion that prudence and bravery could dictate. It is claimed for General Wayne during the whole of the campaign of 1777, the duty, which was usually performed by three general officers, owing to a combination of circumstances, was performed by him alone.

At Monmouth, where the American regular first developed the fact that the drilled American was equal to the best, had no superior in the world—at Monmouth, where the Continental troops received their "baptism of blood and of fire," WAYNE was the HERO.

It has become the fashion with a certain class of writers, with an assurance equaling that of a mythical Jomini, to make out that the young French Marquis de La Fayette was a war genius of the highest order, and a perfect match in generalship for the best officer the British had in America,

"the good and great," the gallant, generous, *genial* (in the German sense) Cornwallis. It has always been the writer's opinion that Washington's regard for the boy-general, La Fayette, while it may, in a measure, have been founded in friendship, had its real base in policy, and that when the commander-in-chief detached our native brigadier, Anthony Wayne, with his famous Light Brigade, to act under the comparatively inexperienced young foreign major-general, he intended Wayne to serve as a balance-wheel to La Fayette, as Thomas served as a balance-wheel to every superior in rank until Nashville demonstrated that the balance-wheel was, in fact, about the whole machine. What Traun in the previous century had been to the Austrian archdukes, Charles and Francis in their operations against the great Frederic; Blumenthal to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and what numerous great generals were to their superiors in aristocratical eminence, however inferior in all the grandeur of mind as applied to the carrying on of war, Wayne was to La Fayette. It is the writer's idea that Wayne was sent to dry-nurse the French marquis, and all that the latter accomplished to the purpose, in Virginia in 1781, was due to the former, Pennsylvania's ablest representative in the field during America's first War for Independence.

It is not only curious, but instructive, to find that war, like water, follows inevitable courses, and that decisive or influential battles have been fought repeatedly and inevitably on the same fields. This is admitted. When the late contest developed into the assurance of a great war, one of our most distinguished generals, a near friend, wrote: "Send me Tarleton's *Campaigns and Maps* and all the works relating to the Revolutionary War you can get, for I am satisfied that our marches and movements and fighting will have to follow the same lines as in the preceding century." The event showed the perfect correctness of this officer's foresight. It was not wonderful, but he had profited by what he had studied and seen, by which few are willing to benefit, or at least are able to do. The grounds and fields of the Cornwallis-La Fayette-Wayne operations were wet again and again with blood shed in fratricidal engagements in the Revolution as they were in the "Great American Conflict." Yorktown, besieged by the Americans and French in 1781, was again by the Union Army in 1861. Williamsburg was the scene, 5th May, 1862, of the first stand-up fight between the two (Union and rebel) armies of the Potomac (one originally the army of northeastern Virginia and the other afterwards of northern Virginia), witnessed similar scenes in 1781, as well as Green Spring, the spot rendered famous by the hardihood of Wayne.\*

\* While remarking on localities in this part of the Peninsula, one, most remarkable, is *Cold*

Cornwallis was in Virginia master of the situation, having made a march in 1781, something like that of Sherman in 1865, northward through the Carolinas. The entire subjugation of Virginia was a part of the British plan of operations for 1781. While expecting to be reinforced, Clinton became so alarmed about his own position in New York where the allies intended to "leave him *severely alone*," he actually howled to Cornwallis on the James, for troops to make himself secure, when he was incurring not even the slightest chance of danger on the Hudson. After he had allowed these troops to depart, Cornwallis found himself constrained to take another entirely different course. Feeling that he was not strong enough to remain any longer at Williamsburg he determined to cross the river James and fall back to Portsmouth. The retreat of Cornwallis placed no feather in the cap of the Americans, of Lafayette, or of any one else. "Light Horse Harry" Lee, in his history, is very just to the English Marquis. He admits that Cornwallis "*yielded to assurances* [those of Sir Henry Clinton] *too solemn to be slighted*," and incurred ruin by "adhering to his instructions." Carrying out his design, Cornwallis encamped so as to cover a ford which led to Jamestown Island and the same evening the Queen's Rangers crossed into the Island. The two following days were consumed in getting the baggage across. The day after Cornwallis evacuated Williamsburg, La Fayette also changed position. Having crossed the Chickahominy, he pushed forward his best troops within nine miles of the British camp, in hopes of being able to attack the enemy's rear-guard when left to itself and after the other and principal forces had passed over into Jamestown Island. Cornwallis saw through this project, and camped almost the whole of his army on advantageous ground, concentrating his troops as

*Harber.* Quite a controversy has arisen as to the meaning or origin of this name. It is not only English but German. For instance, *Kalte Herberge*, or Cold-Shelter, or Inn, was quite a noted hostelry on the road from Freiburg to Hunningen, as early as the first settlement of Virginia. (Keyser, IV. App'x, 12.) It would seem to mean a public-house, which afforded shelter for man and beast, but where the former were expected to bring food with them and find lodging and shelter but not entertainment.

It may be as well to mention for those who have never examined a map of this portion of Virginia, that the road from Williamsburg to the Ford (?) through or Ferry over a narrow channel of the James River, to Jamestown Island, strikes the water at Church Point, about six miles southwest of Williamsburg, according to the Map of Virginia (sheet No. 9), entered according to Act of Congress, the 14th day of April, 1826, by John Tyler, Governor of the State of Virginia. Cobham is the village on the south side of the James, where the road to Portsmouth appears again upon the map. For Jamestown Island, Green Spring (Plantation), and other points mentioned in this article, see pages 445, 446, 447, volume 2, *Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*. Jamestown, the first English settlement in the United States, was made on this island in 1608. Nothing now remains but a few ruins.

much as possible, meanwhile throwing over, into the Island, several detachments and disposing them so as to make it appear that their number was large. Deceived by every report which he received, La Fayette believed that the largest portion of the British had crossed during the night. Accordingly, 6th July, he sent forward his riflemen and militia to attack the English outposts and hold their attention whilst with his regulars he advanced, intending to cut off the British rear-guard. Cornwallis did everything to confirm La Fayette in his delusion. The detachments of English light troops were withdrawn and the pickets which had not been thrown out far, were driven in without difficulty. Just before sundown, La Fayette came to the front determined to make a reconnaissance with his own eyes. Cornwallis *had every reason to believe* that he had set a trap which would catch his man and he would have done so if it had not been for Wayne. When he advanced to nip LaFayette, and drove back the first line of Americans, he came upon Wayne with a select body, estimated by different writers at from five to eight hundred, a picked body. Wayne knew that to retreat precipitately was to court destruction; so, he determined to make audacity supply the place of force. Instead of falling back he struck out and back with such effect that he checked Cornwallis, just as Pleasonton with his cavalry and artillery stopped Stonewall Jackson, for the moment, 2d May, on our right, at Chancellorsville, when Howard's Corps had been run out and sent kiting. Wayne behaved so splendidly, that Cornwallis concluded that Wayne must have ample supports at hand, and that a trap might be sprung on him such as he thought he had set so skillfully and infallibly for LaFayette. Gallant as he was, he did not deem it advisable to press the matter further. Wayne extricated himself skillfully and, in the course of the night, Cornwallis crossed his army over to Jamestown Island and thence continued his march to Portsmouth.\* Perhaps this was the handsomest thing Wayne ever did and it is from such achievements that "A soldier knows a soldier, a man knows a man." In the fall of Cornwallis—not his fault but the disgrace of Clinton—Wayne

\* Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Simcoe, of the famous Loyalist Partisan Corps, known as the "Queen's Rangers," in his *Military Journal*, at page 239, tells the story a little differently:

"On the 4th July the army marched to Jamestown, for the purpose of crossing the river at that place, and proceeding to Portsmouth: the Queen's Rangers crossed the river that evening, and took post to cover the baggage, which was passing over as expeditiously as possible. *On the evening of the 6th*, as Earl Cornwallis had predicted, M. de la Fayette attacked his army, *mistaking it for the rear guard only: the affair was almost confined to the 80th and 76th regiments*, under the command of Lt.-Col. Dundas, whose good conduct and gallantry was conspicuously displayed on that occasion. M. de la Fayette was *convinced of his error*, by being instantly repulsed, and losing what cannon he had brought with him. The army passed over, marched on the 9th toward Portsmouth."

did not play his usual prominent part throughout. On the very day on which the French troops landed, Wayne was severely wounded in the thigh by the accidental shot of a frightened American sentry. Still he worked in at the end and influenced the surrender. From Virginia, Wayne with his Pennsylvania troops was ordered south to Greene and joined the latter about the 1st January, 1782; and was then despatched into Georgia. In five weeks after he entered that colony, or State, the British had been pressed back into Savannah. On the night of the 24th February, Wayne defeated an attempt to surprise his troops made by 500 picked chiefs and warriors of the brave Creek Nation. A general action ensued and the Indians and their supporters were totally defeated. On the 11th July, 1782, the British evacuated Savannah, and Wayne took possession of the city. Thence he was summoned to the assistance of Greene who, situated critically in South Carolina, needed help. Toward the close of November, Wayne's immediate command was augmented by the Light Infantry and the Legionary Corps.

Thus stiffened, he passed the Ashley River and pressed back the British into Charleston. On the 14th of December, 1782, the British having left the city in accordance with a convention, Wayne, with his troops, had the honor of taking peaceable possession of the place. This was the closing act of his brilliant active participation in the Revolutionary War.

In July, 1783, having finished his duties in the Southern country, Wayne turned to Philadelphia, suffering from the effects of an ugly fever contracted in that malarious region in which he had been serving. On the 10th of October, 1783, he was made major-general U.S.A. by brevet. From 1783 to 1792, his attention was directed to his personal affairs which had become greatly disordered by his absence in the field and in various honorable civil positions. On the 13th of April, 1792, Washington nominated Wayne as commander-in-chief of the United States Army, and after his confirmation he was called out West into the present State of Ohio, to restore the honor of the American arms lost by years of unsuccessful hostility against the Indians in that region, and to determine that this rich country should become the peaceable possession of the whites and no longer be oppressed by the inroads and depredations of the savage. In this he perfectly succeeded.

In the same way that our Revolutionary history, as written for and accepted by the people, is little better than a myth, the same remark will apply to the popular judgment of a great many of the military operations immediately subsequent. Few are aware that there was a Josiah Harmar, from Pennsylvania, although only a lieutenant-colonel (commanding a regi-

ment of infantry), and brigadier-general by brevet, who was general-in-chief of the United States Army, succeeding Washington. He is best known for his defeats on the Miami River in western Ohio, and one near Chillicothe, 19th and 22d of October, 1790. Although thus unfavorably known, the blame of his failure is far more due to the inefficiency of the Administration and untrustworthiness of the militia than to Harmar. He was one of the many victims of the miserable system followed by our government in relying for emergencies upon a militia which in a vast majority of cases, have led to the sacrifice of better men by cowardice and insubordination. The failures of Harmar and St. Clair were rather those of a pernicious system than of those commanders, but still the remedy lay with the commander as Wayne demonstrated in 1793, and Thomas in 1864, or lies in a bold refusal to submit to such a system without the opportunity of at least attempting to better it before making an attempt at application. Scarcely any one censures Harmar for what he was most censurable, his emulating the course of Sullivan in 1779, and destroying the extensive orchards planted and fostered by the Indians, a desolation which the Turks, obedient to their dogmas, do not inflict. "While emulous of renown, General Harmar disgraced himself, as General Sullivan had done in New York, by cutting down or girdling the fine orchards with which the settlements were surrounded."

Harmar after this failure proceeded to Washington and resigned his command. Arthur St. Clair succeeded him as general-in-chief, and with the inheritance of his position, to his predecessors' ill luck. Even as Sullivan's invasion of the Indian country in 1779, all its vaunted success, did not arrest the constant occurrence of Indian reprisals, but rather increased their fury, so in the same way Harmar's destructions were followed by the most desperate efforts of the savages—efforts in a great measure occasioned by Harmar's calculated destruction of their food. These St. Clair was sent to repress. When he started out, Washington solemnly warned him against a surprise, for our first President had been with Braddock, and knew the horrible effects, even upon the most steady troops, of an Indian surprise. On the 4th of November, 1791, St. Clair, sent to punish the Indians, was terribly punished himself. In the engagement near the sources of the Maumee of the Lakes, about an equal number of whites and Indians met. Of the 1400 effectives under St. Clair, 632 were killed, and 234 were wounded. Other honest investigators augment the number of the whites and their casualties, and doubt the accepted exaggeration of the Indian force, which, according to some accounts, were not over a third of the whites. It is very hard to have to throw a stone at one against whom so

many rocks have been hurled, but when an officer accepts a responsibility, and he finds the means furnished totally inadequate to the service and result expected of him, there are only two alternatives; *either* to resign or expect to bear all the blame, and accept it as deserved. One of the greatest of prime ministers, when an officer was recommended to him for a command always asked first, "Is he lucky?" Perhaps the best criterion whereby to form a judgment of honest St. Clair (who by the way was not an American, but a Scotchman, a foreigner like so many of the Revolutionary generals and leaders who engineered in the Revolution), in regard to his course at Ticonderoga in 1777, is the management of his campaign against the Indians in 1791. No one can doubt his devotion and integrity, but, in both cases, against the British and the Indians, his capacity was unequal, and his characteristics unsuitable to the occasion; and it is in meeting the occasion lies the test of men. Our great, among the greatest, if not our very greatest, George H. Thomas, hero of Mill Spring, Stone River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Nashville, held to the opinion that when an officer of real reputation became satisfied that while he was inadequately furnished with means he was yet impelled by his government to do that which his experience demonstrated, was actually, or equal to, an impossibility according to all human means of judging, he owed it to himself to resign. The action of Thomas before Nashville clearly demonstrated the correctness of his views.

In spite of the unreasonable and ungenerous goading of superiors and the administration, Thomas would not fight until he felt he was ready to fight. He would not obey graceless and senseless orders. What was the result? He took his own way, and when he felt that he was prepared then, and not before, he struck a deadly blow.

After St. Clair's catastrophe the Indians continued their hostilities with terrible vigor and effect for nearly three years more. Wayne succeeded St. Clair, who held the position for exactly one year, as general-in-chief, in March, 1792. In the fall of 1793 Wayne was sent against the Indians. He did not plunge blindly forward into a trap, but, on the principle of Thomas before Nashville, spent the whole ensuing summer in preparing his troops for the service they had to perform—in getting a perfect ready.\* The

\* Against savages or demi-savages or desperate irregulars it is often necessary to improvise tactics. Thus the Duke of Cumberland, comprehending why his predecessors had so often suffered defeat at the hands of the Highlanders, made his dispositions for Culloden on an entirely new and different principle. General Sir Edward Cust says (I. 2. 101, § 4): "The Duke of Cumberland, on approaching to the attack, formed his army with great skill in three lines, disposed in excellent order for resisting the fierce attack of the rebels. Two pieces of cannon were placed

result was that when Wayne encountered the Indians in greater numbers than had ever assembled before on any one field—two thousand strong, it is stated—in the battle of the Maumee Rapids, at the “fallen timbers,” he inflicted upon them a complete defeat, which may rank as the best thing of the kind on this continent. Wayne’s numbers are not given, but, whatever strength he had, his list of casualties was comparatively insignificant, realizing the judgment of the Governor of Messina, that “a victory is twice itself when the achiever brings home full numbers.” This solved the Indian problem in that quarter, and rounded off to perfectness—capped with solidifying finish, like the expensive stone at the apex of the Washington Monument—his exemplary career, for Wayne died 15th December, 1796, sixteen days less than fifty-two years of age, “in the full vigor of life, in the noon-tide of glory, and in the midst of usefulness.”

between every two regiments of the first line. *The second rank was instructed to reserve its fire; and, in order to obviate the effect of the Highland target, the soldiers were each instructed to direct their thrust against the man who fronted his right-hand comrade, rather than upon him who was directly before him, so that should the Highlanders, according to their custom, throw away their muskets and take to their broadswords they might be checked, and then be galled by an unexpected fire of musketry, which should be immediately followed by the bayonet.*”

Whenever the Indians have attempted to blend their peculiar tactics with those of the whites, when opposed to brave and able commanders, they have suffered fearfully, showing the wisdom of Skoboleff’s strictures, “always to fight the enemy with a weapon in which he is deficient.” Indian victories belong to the class of “Ambushes and Surprises,” like Dade’s Massacre in Florida, on 28th December, 1835, while the American Indian is just as open to surprises from inattention to outpost and sentry duty, in fact from causes due to want of instruction and discipline. Their force, like that of the Highlanders of Montrose and of Dundee, lay in their courage and activity, like that of all undisciplined nervous races, a mode of fighting only successful when opposed to officers who, with unsteady troops, stolidly await attack, as did Mackay at Kalliecrankie, or who depend on martinism, like Braddock on the Monongahela. Harrison’s victory at the Thames was patterned on Wayne’s Waterloo over the same allies on the Miamis. Miles displayed a like ability against Sitting Bull. Again, wherever Indians have tried to make a stand behind permanent or temporary defenses, they have come terribly to grief. When left to themselves they seem incapable of applying anything like the rules of engineering to their works, paying no regard to the simplest arrangements for taking an assailant in flank. Take, for instance, the famous capture of the Pequot stockade citadel by the Eastern Colonists in 1637, the complete success of the French Governor-Generals of Canada in 1665 and 1693, and Jackson’s victories over the Creeks and Cherokees and Seminoles. Every defeat sustained by the whites at the hands of the Indians that might be termed a battle or engagement—this remark does not, of course, include surprises—has been due to neglect of the ordinary rules of common sense on the part of the leaders of the whites. The Indians have their peculiar tactics. These have to be studied and understood in the same way that the hunter must learn the habits and habitat of the prey that he seeks for food, interest, or pleasure. Wherever the Indians have undertaken to make a stand in positions fortified however strongly, according to their ideas, and the whites have been in anything like proportionate force, and led by determined leaders, the Indians have always suffered more severely than in the most bloody of field fights. Custer’s catastrophe is one of the most notable exceptions to this rule.

General Wayne was gifted with true soldierly inspiration, and yet he possessed, in addition, another most important quality for a subordinate: he was essentially obedient, and his deference to Washington was without bounds. It was this feeling, this confidence, that led to his remark: "that if your Excellency will plan it I will undertake to storm hell." This language, strong as it appears, was not the expression of a man deficient in respect for religion, but simply an assurance of the extreme influence with which Washington was capable of inspiring some of his trusted and trustworthy lieutenants. Napoleon said of the brutal, but bold and capable Vandamme, who came to grief at Culm, in 1813, that if he gave an order to storm hell, his Dutch general was the man he would select to make the attempt. It was in the same spirit that Platoff, Hetman of the Cossacks, responded with alacrity to the proposition to march his devoted troopers against the British possessions in India. The idea excited no surprise in the mind of the successor of Mazeppa, and he asked no explanations, simply remarking that if the Tzar directed him to storm hell, he would obey. In the cases of Vandamme and Platoff it was the blind obedience of irresponsible instruments; with Wayne it was an honest faith in the perfect wisdom of Washington. Perhaps there was not another well-known officer in the Continental Army that had such an intelligent, affectionate, unquestioning respect for the commander-in-chief. With those who judge without due examination and comparison of facts, without capacity to comprehend and exhaustively to digest cause, and result, and motives, Wayne was regarded as *rash*. It is all-sufficient answer to their judgment, Washington qualified him as "prudent."

It has been remarked in this sketch that the popular, high reputation of Wayne is based on his storming and capture of Stony Point. His fame should rest on far higher grounds. In that assault he was highly favored by circumstances. A professor who has written considerably on different portions of the Revolutionary War, has taken great exception to my opinions in regard to Stony Point, and considers the intervention of the negro guide, Pompey, as mythical. I consider it strictly true, and that it had a very great and fortunate influence upon the result. Again, the success was due, in a large degree, to the remissness, inexperience, and overconfidence of the British commandant—in fact, of all those to whom the defense was confided, or were supposed to be watching over its security. Moreover, Wayne had a much larger number of excellent troops than is usually credited to him. The credit due to him cannot, however, be lessened by the numbers or the circumstances of this case. None of these criticisms detract from the credit of Wayne. He had a perfect right to take

them into his calculations. He made his preparations, and he solved his problem. There is no discount to his enviable success as far as his intent and execution is concerned. Wayne's capture of Stony Point was in the spirit of Russell's storm of the Rebel Bridge Head on the Rappahannock, 7th November, 1863, and of the Union *coup d'embée*, at Fort McAllister, 13th December, 1864. Wayne's "counter" at Green Spring,\* again, was in the spirit of Warren's brilliant stroke at Bristow Station, 14th October, 1863. Schlange's self-sacrifice to save Baner, at Newburg, in 1639, belongs to the same class of devotion and determination of which "Military Ends and Moral Means" furnishes illustrious examples. The charge of the combined 2d and 3d corps, Army of the Potomac, at the Spottsylvania death angle, ranges up in the category of Wayne's Stony Point. His greatness—for he was great in his sphere and on his plane—rests upon the even tenor of his service. He never fell below the latter. Turenne, acquired great reputation by his management of the mutiny, defection and desertion of the Weymarians troops, who, treated unjustly by the French Government, decided to abandon its service and return to that of the Swedes, under whose flag they were originally organized and won much renown. Turenne undoubtedly exhibited tact; he used cajolery and courage. When he at-

\* Captain Ewald, of the Hessian Jager Corps, an officer as remarkable for ability as courage, who served in America with great distinction, afterwards wrote a book entitled *Instructions in Respect to War*. In alluding to an encounter very much like that between Dundas (British) and Wayne at Green Spring, Ewald held and acted on the principle proper on such occasions,—always to attack the enemy without hesitation. In his *Belehrungen* he enjoins: "If an officer by night stumble on the enemy, let him give a volley and charge with the bayonet, without troubling himself as to the strength of his opponent. By these proceedings the latter, since he cannot see the strength of his assailant, is confounded, and the chief in command wins the whole time for making his dispositions.

On the 4th of July [1781], Cornwallis evacuated Williamsburg, for the purpose of pursuing his retreat to Portsmouth, his place of destination. On the morning of the 5th, Lafayette put his troops in motion, in order to effect his contemplated maneuver against the rear guard of his opponent, and, on the evening of that day, encamped within eight or nine miles of his Lordship. On the morning of the 6th the advanced corps under General Wayne moved toward the enemy. Under a conviction from intelligence received that the greater part of the British army had passed over into the Island of Jamestown during the preceding night, the Marquis also moved forward at the head of the main army, with the view of carrying his object into full effect; whilst General Wayne, with part of the advanced corps, in the afternoon commenced driving in the outposts of the enemy; but he soon discovered that in place of the rear guard, nearly the whole of the British army was drawn up to oppose him, and within a short distance of his front. Says Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*: "A retreat was now impossible, and the boldest had become the safest measure. Under this impression he advanced rapidly, and with his small detachment, not exceeding eight hundred men, made a gallant charge on the British line. A warm action ensued, which was kept up with great spirit for several minutes, when Lafayette, who had now come up, ordered him to retreat and form in line with the light infantry, who were drawn up about half a mile in his rear."

tempted to apply force he only partially succeeded in arresting a portion of the absconding forces. Wayne showed common sense and calm bravery, and he was completely successful. And here let it be remarked that Becker, a German historian, who was very careful in his presentation of facts, stated that the majority of the Pennsylvania mutineers were foreigners, and their ringleader a British deserter.

Americans who pride themselves so much on the issue of the Revolution are very little aware how much of the triumph was secured by "Military (men and) Ends and Moral Means," remote, mediate, and immediate, *foreign, not native*. However, the consideration of those influences does not lie within the scope of the present sketch. If any expert takes interest and devotes time to investigate the career of Wayne, he will arrive at the conclusion that our general rose higher and higher with every succeeding opportunity until his glory culminated, not so much in his victory over the Western Indians, as in his wise preparations and personal courage which made that victory certain.

It is related that when the British had the upper hand in Pennsylvania, a British detachment visited the Wayne homestead in hopes of capturing the general. In searching the house the officer in command pulled open a closet door and started back on finding himself confronted by a Continental uniform of Wayne, which hung on a peg. "Do even the general's clothes alarm thee?" observed a lady of the family who was standing by, watching the proceedings of the search. This anecdote amounts to little except to show that Wayne's reputation must have been more than unusually high, or else it would never have entered into the mind of the speaker to imagine that the apparition of Wayne's uniform would have any weight on the mind of a soldier.

In conclusion, in an examination of the military character of Wayne there is no necessity of indulging in the slightest exaggeration to establish his claim for enrollment in the highest class of military ability. He was a common-sense, practical general, a "duty man," very much like another Pennsylvanian, Major-General, A. A. Humphreys, developed by "the Slaveholders' Rebellion." Both possessed the best intelligence, the highest intrepidity, the finest sense of honor, and the completest devotion to duty. He displayed the noblest qualities on the most varied fields. He was an adroit politician and consummate master of the art of influencing men. He stands second in capacity to no general of the Revolution. He was more audacious than Greene, with all the electrifying force of Arnold on the battle-field; a clearer head under fire than the first, and a cooler leader under every circumstance than the latter. This is saying all that is neces-

sary to establish his reputation. Moreover, he had as much judgment as Schuyler. Nothing more need be added. He was tried in every way and never found wanting. Pitted against the best regular troops and officers on the battle-field, he was admirable; their equal in determination and dash. Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Green Spring proved this. Opposed to the most dangerous mutiny, he evinced an equanimity and moral force which superseded the necessity of material vigor. Against the courageous Indians of the West, the famous Thayandenga under Brant, flushed with victory over two generals, his predecessors, his triumph was like that of Thomas at Nashville, decisive. In his attitude of patriotic determination, backed by a fearless courage, he subsequently awed the British authorities after his victory, 20th August, 1794, and won a bloodless success which entitles him to the highest praise.

Popular opinion, almost always based on ignorance and rarely the offspring of knowledge, has never done justice to Wayne. He may have lacked some of the qualities that distinguished Washington, and some of the opportunities which favored Greene, and certain notable traits which rendered Schuyler so remarkable, but, averaging forces, he was a better soldier than either. As a politician or administrator he never entered the lists. His sphere of action was the military, pure and simple. In that he never failed. He never fell short of the occasion. He was always equal to the requirements of the time. As a soldier, few so prominently forward have such a perfect record. Scrutinize his whole career, and it cannot be denied that the United States has not as yet possessed a soldier who, under existing circumstances—mark this—under the circumstances of his station and the time, who has played the part assigned to him with more ability. On a grander stage, in a more important roll, he may have come short of the requirements of both, but on the boards he was called upon to act, no deficiency could be detected, and from what he was called upon to do, and from what he did, he must be judged. From this point of view the verdict must incontestably be that Wayne was most remarkable as a soldier, greatly distinguished as a general, and worthy of all respect as a citizen.



## THE DISINTEGRATION OF CANADA

Our Canadian neighbors adjoining the Eastern border have been and are at present afflicted with serious family jars. Troubles provincial and difficulties municipal have contributed to set French and English by the ears, the great plague-smitten city of Montreal being the principal seat of the unhappy strife. Much excitement prevails in the ranks of the disputants, while mutual recrimination and defiance combine with revived race antipathies to embitter life and damage the material interests of all alike. No doubt there is room for honest differences of opinion between French Canadians and British on various questions of a provincial or municipal character, and such are not seldom expressed in temperate, sensible language; but there is a set of budding lawyers, of lofty ambition, as well as a crowd of selfish politicians who make it their business to foment national strife and exaggerate reasonable differences on all occasions, in order to promote their own contemptible ends. Frenchmen, moreover, of any education, are easily moulded into politicians; fluent, demonstrative, and excitable, while the British, though cooler and self-confident enough, are not slow to make known a "grievance," or to resent with a liberal measure of growls, a deliberate insult.

Such needy and "stagey" politicians supply suitable material for the common herd of patriots ever ready to take fire not simply when French interests, but when French whims and prejudices, even, are concerned. The mention of the benefits of British rule and French indebtedness thereto which the opposite disputants occasionally indulge in, to tease and humble "Johnny Crapaud," invariably proves both the red flag and the goad productive of the most rabid excitement. Whether he feels it all is another question. At any rate, he certainly succeeds to perfection in simulating intense indignation, while striving to alarm his opponents with the dreadful possibilities likely to flow from his offended pride. "Have we not opened our hospitable gates to your British emigrants, driven out by poverty from your own land, cared for your sick and helped you in your struggle for a living?" are questions not seldom flung in the faces of the "Johnny Bulls," whose ingratitude naturally supplies in this connection a fertile theme of the hottest denunciation.

Of the nationality controversy, its ideas and snappish tone, the fol-

lowing extract from an editorial in the *Montreal Herald*, with the sub-joined reply from a French paper of the same city, *Le Monde*, supplies an interesting specimen. The former demands as it rushes to the attack—"Is this a British province?" The question is thus answered by itself—"If it is not, it is time it was. From the expressions that reach the public from time to time, many might be led to suppose that it was not. We hear so much about treaty rights, about *La Belle France*, about the tri-color, about everything that seems to link the province of Quebec with old France, that it might almost be taken for granted that a large portion of the population had forgotten that there were British interests to be considered here. But if treaty rights have been respected, if they have been enjoyed to the full, it has been because Great Britain has kept her word to the very letter, and because British colonists have seen the honor of their mother-country maintained. If the inhabitants of Quebec enjoy political peace and material prosperity, these are largely due to the beneficent political institutions which have been granted by Great Britain." To which *Le Monde* replies: ". . . No; it is a French province which the destiny of war has placed under the protection of the English. The sovereign of Great Britain has a right to our loyalty, which she possesses, but we retain the privilege of remaining French, and even if it displeases our enemies we will continue to be French. . . . The French Canadians do not owe the liberty they enjoy to the English. Our liberties were acquired by the price of our blood, and we have shared them with those who to-day desire to confiscate them to their own advantage. The *Herald* is mistaken if it thinks we are alarmed at the specter of annexation. Whether we be English, American, or Canadian citizens, we will always remain French. Let those whom this displeases do as they think proper." There is a serious as well as a ludicrous side to this quarrel. After a century's possession of the province by England, with vigorous, systematic, and continuous efforts, at great expense, to colonize its wastes and Anglicize its Gallic inhabitants, we witness the most striking evidences of failure supplied by a people, many of whom pride themselves on being more French than ever, more attached to the language, ideas, and country of their ancestors. But there are French Canadians, and French Canadians. Some of them unquestionably have been and are being impregnated with British ideas to an extent creditable to their liberality and good sense. Contact with imperial officials for three generations, as well as with leading Englishmen in the cities and towns, and a knowledge of what has happened in France and England, politically and socially, since the French Revolution, have made impressions on the more intelligent Canadians,

friendly to British rule and free institutions, such as prevail under the Union Jack and American Eagle.

Nor can it be doubted that a powerful factor in the expansion of the Canadian mind, and in the liberalizing of Canadian feelings of late years, is an extensive intercourse with the United States, to which thousands of French as well as British Canadians annually repair. Among the results of this communication, which appears likely to extend with time, must be set down a better feeling toward the United States, and a substantial respect for the hospitality, wealth, and energy of its people. Indeed, any old prejudice against them, not to speak of hatred, seems a thing of the past.

On the other hand, whatever sentimental theories or policies may be affected by the admission, the fact that a large proportion of the French do not like the British and their ways, stands out nakedly. The conquerors and "new comers" meet them in business and in politics as rivals, and this friction touches the pockets and ruffles the vanity of a people, as sensitive in these respects as their compatriots of *La Belle France* across the ocean. If this section be blind to the undeniable benefits of British rule, genius and enterprise, the English are not slow to remind them of it, nor to arrogate to themselves a very liberal share of the credit connected with the prosperity of the province. They also feel offended at that alleged blindness and ingratitude which refuses to them, the ameliorators, a larger amount of influence in social and political affairs.

Now, the question naturally arises—have the British any reason for their complaint of declining influence, and French aggression in civil affairs? Events of recent years, I must confess, favor an affirmative answer. As long ago as the period preceding Confederation, it was predicted by statesmen and others that the establishment of separate provincial governments would develop local prejudices and leave race and other minorities at the mercy of the local majorities; and that whatever satisfaction the Upper Canada (now the Ontario) majority might derive from the change, the British minority of Lower Canada (Quebec) would, ere many years, have good reason to regret it. Recent events have justified their foresight. Contemporaneously with the rapid disappearance of the English population in Quebec city and other parts of the province, we have seen, of late years, a gradual and astonishing growth of the French, especially in the direction of the Eastern townships. This growth has been greatly aided by the repatriation scheme started, shortly after Confederation, and so highly favored by the Roman Catholic clergy, in order to coax back their flocks from the United States, and prevent further migration thereto,

which might, to their patriotic and religious fancies, be attended with the loss, to the outgoers, of their language and religion! Colonization roads and the throwing open of indifferent and moderately good crown lands are among the means employed to effect those objects, toward which considerable progress has been attained. The British feel they have grown weaker numerically and otherwise, while the French show no little elation over their corresponding gains.

Meantime, however sore the feeling of any race minority, and however apprehensive as to possible aggression or injustice, in future, by the majority, the kindred and sympathizing majority of no other province can help it; each province, which means each majority, is entirely independent of all the rest in regard to local and municipal affairs. Nor is there any prospect of a change in this respect more agreeable to any provincial minority; for the Ontario Liberal party, which is powerful at Ottawa, in the Federal House, and is supreme at Toronto, where it has ruled the last dozen years, is resolutely opposed to the slightest interference with provincial authority by the General Government. The specter of possible French rule is as terrible to the imagination of the English-speaking Liberals of Ontario and Quebec as it was before Confederation when it possessed much vigor and devotion to its interests. One-fourth of the members of the Parliament at Ottawa is French Canadian. This element is, generally speaking, three-fourths Conservative, under excellent discipline, highly sensitive to its own interests, and fully alive to the practical value of party loyalty. It has not been weakened, much less paralyzed by the larger union of the provinces, its strength, on the contrary, being relatively greater to-day in the Dominion than fifteen years ago. Nor, so long as the majority holds together, as during the last thirty-five years, is the race likely to lose weight in even Dominion affairs, while, with its present and constantly augmenting advantages, in Quebec, it cannot fail to aggrandize itself.

The English are becoming more and more discouraged and unsettled as the years go by. "What have we to expect from this steadily increasing, rather jealous and not friendly majority?" is a question commonly put by the former, who never were in a worse humor for being Gallicized or trampled upon. They naturally, also, with that practical habit characteristic of the race, criticize the fruits of French rule in Quebec province, after the following fashion: "What have they done with all their opportunities and advantages since Confederation, when they started on equal terms with Ontario, in the race of local self-government and development? Have they not been woefully beaten in almost every department of material progress? Has not Ontario a far superior school

system, better public and municipal roads, with a much greater extent of them; and, has she not spent infinitely more on public improvements, such as opening up and settling wild lands in the remotest sections, subsidizing colonization northern railways, and so forth, while liberally maintaining an excellent array of charitable institutions for the defective and afflicted? Has not all this and more been done simultaneously with a material increase of her surplus, which now amounts to several millions? While our province, the oldest and by long odds, the first in the race a couple or three generations ago, can hardly maintain the population with which it entered Confederation, Ontario has doubled its population in thirty years, boasting at present over 200,000 souls!" "Quebec, besides," it is often added—"got through her surplus of ten or twelve years ago, having the last few years been living from hand to mouth." Doubtless the \$3,000,000 lately granted her for the North Shore Railway, between Quebec and Montreal, made over to the Canadian Pacific Railway, will fill some hideous gaps, and tide off a little longer the era of deficits that all thoughtful Britons and many shrewd Frenchmen themselves, expect ere many years; but this resource exhausted, and the general Federal and local taxation constantly augmenting, there will be no alternative by and by but a cry for a rearrangement of the financial terms of the Union, or further borrowing in disguise.

Can not Quebec settle her waste places, open up and develop her northern regions and utilize her timber and other resources like Ontario? some may ask. Not for a long time to any material extent, I fear must be the answer. Whatever the cause, nowadays Frenchmen do not in large numbers penetrate and clear up the remote wilderness, converting its vast expanse into smiling farms. They lack the perseverance, and self-denial conspicuous in former days, which virtues have been abundantly displayed by the pioneers of Ontario and the British emigrants who have, within the last two or three decades, transformed hundreds of miles of its remote and difficult forests, forbidding hills, and gloomy swamps, into the fairest scenes of civilization. The habits of the French Canadians have wonderfully changed, thousands now abandoning the snug houses and old cleared farms of fathers and grandfathers for the lighter work of the New England and Canadian factories and workshops, or scattering through the British agricultural districts or lumbering on timber limits.

But if there be an evil genius of the French, its utmost cunning could not have been more effectually employed to discredit their intelligence and damage their interests than have those results been effected by their insane and obstinate resistance to vaccination. It has taken six months' ravages

of the plague, only less appalling and destructive than the cholera in Spain, to teach the French Canadian majority of the Montreal City Council the value of this world-renowned protection, so that they might order their employés to make use of it; and all this painful period, with its thousands of deaths, and tens of thousands of racked and disfigured victims has even yet failed to convince multitudes, in the commercial metropolis, of the benefits of an operation long ago hailed as one of the greatest blessings granted to humanity. Even at this late date, the combined influence of the British and all other races, of the Roman Catholic clergy, enormous as is their power in social and religious matters, leaves many unimpressed and ready to encounter suffering and death, rather than face the imaginary evils connected with this almost absolute preventive of small-pox.

When such a system of political mismanagement and civic maladministration is considered, what wonder that the British element experiences a feeling of disgust and discouragement, or that in casting about for a remedy, the most radical or revolutionary are not repellant? The French, it is naturally contended by their British fellow-citizens, having had everything their own way both in the provincial and municipal spheres for nearly twenty years, have made a sad mess of it, bungling and sacrificing the interests of all alike; and a resolve to make a struggle of some kind for a better *régime*, for one according the British more influence and respect in the general co-partnership, quietly but rapidly takes form.

Any survey of Canadian affairs, however brief, would be seriously defective without a glance at the financial situation, upon which very recent official statements cast interesting light. The present ruling party at Ottawa, which has held office since 1878, and has a large interest in making the best possible case for itself, is compelled to admit a deficit of \$2,357,470 for the year ended 30th of June, last—the first large adverse balance witnessed for many years. The cause is not so much a decline in the revenue, as a sudden and unusual increase of the expenditure, apart from the cost of the Half-breed uprising. The growth of the expenditure exceeded for the twelve months, \$4,000,000. The total expenditure was \$35,327,935, the income being \$32,970,465. The Financial Minister, Sir L. Tilley, now resigned, expected a surplus of \$1,383,361, and the warmest ministerial advocates admit a deficit of \$657,470, after manipulating the figures of ordinary and extraordinary outlay in the most favorable way for their side. The debt has increased from \$93,000,000 in 1867, the year of confederation, to \$292,000,000, while the population has grown only 1,000,000. The taxation in 1868 was but \$11,700,660, and is now, according to Sir R. Cartwright, an ex-Finance Minister of the Dominion, and other authorities, speaking

from public documents, \$27,000,000. A deficit of two to three millions in the revenue is expected the current year, 1885-6. This gentleman has striven, with some success, at different public meetings, to deepen the serious impression produced by those financial statements throughout Canada, by comparing her financial condition with that of the United States. He asserts that Canadians are to-day in as unfortunate a condition relatively, as to debt and taxes, as were the people of this Republic at the end of the Civil War, which, of course, makes the actual condition of the latter infinitely superior. The Dominion debt has increased from \$30 per head to \$70, while the debt of the United States has been reduced from \$80 to \$28. Taxation in Canada has risen from about \$3 per head to over \$6, while it has been cut down in the Republic from \$14 to some \$3.50 per capita; and the Canadian population in the United States has swelled from 700,000, five years ago, to considerably over a million to-day. The value of real estate in Ontario, the richest and most prosperous province, fell \$30,000,000 last year, though there was some increase of stock and implements. To make the picture more complete I may state that Ontario has a surplus of between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000, while Quebec has lamented a deficit for several years, her actual debt reaching, according to Treasurer Robertson's last financial statement, over \$8,700,000!

Another material element of trouble to our Canadian neighbors has been the Riel affair. Not to deal with minor points or sectional prejudice, there was the fact of solid, long standing Half-breed grievances, for the removal of which Riel's aid was invoked, on the one side, to be offset, on the other, by the consideration of his ingratitude to the government, having previously accepted a bribe from the Dominion authorities to leave Canada, and mischievous course in promoting an uprising of half-civilized and savage elements capable of the greatest harm to the white settlers and the whole Dominion. The Metis leader's vanity and patriotic sentiments may have been moved by the appeals of his former *confrères* and compatriots, but it is nevertheless a fact that he offered for \$35,000 to sacrifice those who trusted him implicitly. Yet many liberal-minded and patriotic citizens of Canada, while stoutly disapproving of his whole course, could not support his execution, having doubts as to his sanity, under circumstances of excitement.

Unquestionably Riel's execution has produced a profound impression throughout the country, particularly upon the French Canadians, who have latterly made his fate a race or national question. This is the more remarkable, too, that the great majority of them being Conservatives, supporters of the present government, at Ottawa, agreed with the British

in condemning the revolt, and co-operated with them in its suppression. It was only since Riel's trial and sentence that a sincere sympathy with him developed, and an intense dislike to the idea of his execution. This somewhat questionable, if not inconsistent, attitude naturally evoked an opposite feeling with the British, especially with the Orange party, hitherto ardent supporters of Sir John Macdonald, the Premier, complicating the question, and rendering his position extremely difficult. On either hand useful and faithful friends of the government demanded an opposite course, though both only a short time before working vigorously for the same object—the suppression of the Half-breeds and Indians. At present the French Canadians, of both political parties, in all the cities and towns, as well as throughout the country districts, appear mostly of one mind in denouncing the government, and particularly their own special representatives, Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron, and Mr. Chapleau, for the hanging of Riel, and the feeling has every appearance of lasting a long time, at any rate beyond the period of the next elections. The large defection of French Canadian supporters of the government, over twenty members, on this account alone, but imperfectly exemplifies the popular indignation, which has found characteristic though inadequate expression in the burning of those gentlemen, and Sir John Macdonald, in effigy, and in the assignment of the honors of the patriot and the martyr to Riel's memory.

The British element naturally considering the injury to the country produced by the late uprising—the loss of over one hundred lives, material destruction of property and waste of over \$4,000,000—resent such demonstrations as absurd and unpatriotic in every sense. Thus another source of contention between French and English is added to the already formidable list, bidding fair to render their relations still more unprofitable and perilous. The political effects of the present controversy and excitement in Quebec and Ontario, not to speak of the North-west, are likely to be far-reaching as well as lasting, the fate of the actual administration and, particularly, of its French members being most probably involved. In all those events, with their consequent existing and prospective troubles, we have presented another startling illustration of the serious difficulty of founding, by the great lakes and the shores of the St. Lawrence, out of the various, rival, jealous, and discordant races, a homogeneous, contented, and prosperous nation.

A most significant feature of this trouble and one full of suggestiveness to the people of this Republic, is the habit of any aggrieved province party, Liberal or Tory, in the Dominion, but particularly in Quebec or Ontario,

of promptly and earnestly casting its eyes toward the American Union, for that relief and future protection from injustice deemed difficult of attainment at home. Such straws appear so frequently as to leave no doubt whatever as to how the wind blows of late years. To the threat that annexation may be resorted to, *Le Monde*, representing Tory Federal ministers, coolly replies, "We fear not the specter of annexation." So even the old French Tory party is reconciled to that absorption by the voracious American Republic, with its appalling power of assimilation, formerly so terrible to it and its ablest leader, the late Sir George Cartier! Even English flirting with this idea would have been thought dreadfully disloyal and improbable some years ago, but a revolution would have been considered requisite to so transform the French Tories. The idea of wholesale political change is becoming familiar to the inhabitants of the other provinces too. We have seen reform leaders in the Federal Parliament, like Hon. Edward Blake, declaring themselves, eloquently, in favor of Imperial Federation, and his colleague, Sir Richard Cartwright, eulogizing Canadian Independence, to the great gratification of large and intelligent Ontario audiences. So the world of Canadian politicians of all parties does move, despite attempts to confine it within old sentimental ligatures, and maintain it indefinitely a satellite of England! When even a French Canadian province, with a population hitherto so conservative and monarchical in sentiment, can so quickly and quietly veer round to a mood of indifference on the subject of annexation, or, perhaps, of half inclination to such a change, what may not be asserted and expected of the British population in all the provinces? All must be aware that the French would be more profoundly affected by annexation than the British—affected in their nearest and dearest interests. But in all this vast change of sentiment, this rapid drift of friendly feeling toward the United States, have we not a compliment to its true greatness and a guarantee of its glorious future excelling in honor, as well as in inspiration, anything within the compass of human genius or the resources of mortal speech!

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

*Prosper Bender*

## THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION, 1788

The debates in the Convention of South Carolina, are said to have been distinguished by the ability with which ratification was advocated and opposed; but no report of them is extant. A fragment remains; from that, from the vote upon the question, and from the debate in the Legislature, upon the motion for the call of a convention, some knowledge may be acquired of those who favored, and those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution, and some conception of the reasoning, upon which their action was based. What, in later years, was termed "the slave power," the professions, and the commercial class, as a general rule, were passionate adorers of the Constitution, the yeomanry of the upper parishes, were obdurate skeptics. As in other States, favor and disfavor seem to have been largely local.

In the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, upon the motion for the call of a State Convention, after the Constitution had been read, Charles Pinckney, a delegate to the Federal Convention, opened the debate, by enumerating the causes which led to that Convention, and by stating that when it met, the first question in the view of almost every member was, "Shall the old plan be amended, or a new one devised?" Conscious that the Confederation, though possessing the outlines of a good government, was, strictly speaking, a league, destitute of the elements of permanency and coercive operation, the Convention felt the necessity of establishing a government, which, instead of requiring the intervention of thirteen legislatures between demand and compliance, operated upon the people in the first instance. Upon that point, the members did not differ, however much they differed upon the question of power. Upon the distribution of influence, in a system possessing extensive national authorities, the compromise between the larger and the smaller States, though originally opposed by Mr. Pinckney, seemed far from injudicious. The judiciary under wise management would be the key-stone of the arch, for in peace, more depended upon the integrity and energy of the judiciary, than upon any other branch of the government. The Executive was not constructed upon a principle as firm and permanent as he could wish, but as much so, as the genius and temper of the people would permit. As commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces, he could neither raise, nor support them by his au-

thority, and his negative upon laws could be overridden. He could not make a treaty, nor appoint to office, without the concurrence of a Senate, in which the States had each an equal voice. In a Union so extensive as this would be, composed of so many State governments, inhabited by a people characterized as our citizens are, by an impatience of any act which looks like an infringement of their rights; an invasion of them by the Federal head, appeared the most remote of all public dangers. To what limits a republic of States may extend, how far it may be capable of uniting the liberty of a small commonwealth, with the safety of a peaceful empire whether among the co-ordinate powers, dissensions and jealousies may not arise, which for the want of a common superior, will proceed to fatal extremities, were questions upon which the example of any nation, did not authorize decision. It was an experiment admittedly, but an experiment which could be made upon a scale so extensive, and under circumstances so promising, as to be the fairest in favor of human nature; and its firm establishment, better calculated to answer the great ends of public happiness, than any, ever yet devised. In his address to the Convention, Pinckney gave wider scope to his reasoning: "The first knowledge necessary to be acquired, is that of a people for whom a system is to be formed, for unless acquainted with their situation, their habits, opinions, and resources, it would be impossible to frame a government upon adequate or practicable principles. None of the distinctions of rank which exist in Europe, do, or in all probability ever will, exist in the Union. The only distinction which may take place is that of wealth. Riches, no doubt, will have their influence; and when suffered to increase to large amounts in a few hands, may become dangerous, particularly when from the cheapness of labor, and the scarcity of money, a great proportion of the people are poor. That danger is very little to be apprehended for two reasons—the destruction of the right of primogeniture, and the nearly equal division of landed property, in the Eastern and Northern States. Few have large bodies, and few who have not small tracts. The greater part of the people are employed in cultivating their own lands, the rest in handicraft and commerce. Plain tables, clothing, and furniture, prevail in their houses, and expensive appearances are avoided. Among the landed interest, few are rich, and few are very poor, nor, while the States are capable of supporting so many more inhabitants than they contain at present, while so vast a territory on our frontier, remains uncultivated and unexplored, while the means of subsistence are so much within every man's power, are those dangerous distinctions of fortune, prevalent in other countries, to be expected. The people of the Union may be classed as follows: commercial men, who will be of

consequence, or not, in the political scale, as commerce may be an object of the attention of the government. Presuming that proper sentiments upon that subject will ultimately prevail, it does not appear that the commercial line will ever have much influence in the politics of the Union. Foreign trade is one of those enemies to be extremely guarded against, more so than any other, as none will have a more unfavorable operation; it is the root of the present distress, the source from which future national calamities will grow, unless great care is taken to prevent it. Divided as we are from the Old World, we should have nothing to do with its politics, and as little as possible with its commerce; it can never improve, but must inevitably corrupt us. Another class, is that of professional men, who from their education and pursuits, must, and will have considerable influence, while government retains the republican principle, and its affairs are regulated in assemblies of the people. The third class, with which may be connected the mechanical interest, is the landed interest; the owners and cultivators of the soil, the men attached to the truest interest of their country, from those motives that always bind and secure the affections of a nation. Here rests, and it is to be hoped will always continue to rest, all the authority of the government. Fortunately for their harmony, these classes are connected with, and dependent on each other; from which mutual dependence, mediocrity of fortune is the leading feature in our national character. Another distinguishing feature of the Union is its division into individual States, differing in extent of territory, manners, products, and population. Those acquainted with the Eastern States, the reasons of their migration, and their pursuits, habits, and principles, know that they are essentially different from those of the Middle, and Southern States; that they retain all those opinions respecting government and religion, which first induced their ancestors to cross the Atlantic; and that they are perhaps more purely republican in habits and sentiments, than any other part of the Union. The inhabitants of New York, and the eastern part of New Jersey, originally Dutch settlements, seem to have altered less than might have been expected in the course of a century; indeed, the greater part of New York may still be considered a Dutch settlement, the people in the interior generally using the Dutch language in their families, and having little varied from their ancient customs. Pennsylvania and Delaware are nearly one-half inhabited by Quakers, whose passive principles upon the governmental questions, and rigid opinions upon the personal, render them extremely different from the citizens of the Eastern, and Southern States. Maryland was originally a Roman Catholic colony, a great number of its

inhabitants, among whom, some of the most wealthy and cultivated, still profess that faith. A striking difference must always exist between the Independents of the East, the Calvinists and Quakers of the Middle States, and the Roman Catholics of Maryland; but that is not to be compared with the difference between the inhabitants of the Northern, and Southern States; by Southern and Northern, meaning Maryland, and the States south of her, and by Northern, the others. Nature has drawn as strong marks of distinction in the habits and manners of the people, as in their climates and productions. The Southern citizen beholds, with a kind of surprise, the simple manners of the East, and is often induced to entertain undeserved opinions of the apparent purity of the Quakers; while they, in turn, seem concerned, at what they term the extravagance and dissipation of their Southern brethren, and reprobate, as an unpardonable moral, and political evil, the dominion held over a part of the human race." Premising that systems, and laws have a powerful effect upon manners, and that all the States had adhered to the republican principle, though differing as to the best mode of preserving it, he passed in review the Constitutions of the several States, giving the palm to New York. Turning to antiquity, he claimed that from its history, instruction could not be drawn, because little of it was accurately known, and that little, showed that representation, the fundamental of a republic, had not been practiced. In the modern world there had been, in no sense of the word, a confederated republic; and he analyzed the systems which bore some resemblance to the one proposed, and distinguished their non-conformity. He then examined the three simple systems of government—monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy—exhibited their advantages and disadvantages, and claimed that the Constitution embodied all the good, and eliminated all the bad, of each. Moreover, if a republic did not exclude dissensions and tumults, they must be less dangerous in large confederated states, than in small societies.

To return to the debate in the Legislature. Judge Pendleton said, that "Ministers in England might be impeached for advising illegal measures. How could the Senate be punished, before what tribunal arraigned, and if the President were impeached for making a bad treaty, must he not be sheltered by the consent of the Senate." General C. C. Pinckney answered: "That question unveils one of the greatest difficulties in framing the Constitution. The treaty-making power must be placed somewhere, and might be placed in three depositories; to each there were objections, therefore that least liable to objection, was selected. As the Senate was not a permanent body, Senators might be tried by succeeding Senators." Mr. Lowndes sug-

gested "that as treaties became the law of the land, the President and two-thirds of the Senate, were absolute." Mr. Pringle drew a distinction between the power to make laws through treaties, and a general legislative power. Mr. Lowndes continued: "If this Constitution is adopted, the sun of the Southern States will set, never to rise. Exclusive of Rhode Island, six of the Eastern States formed a majority in the House. Is it consonant with reason, with wisdom, or with policy, to suppose, that in a Legislature where a majority has different interests from a minority, that the minority has the smallest chance of gaining adequate advantages? Our delegates, undoubtedly, did all in their power to procure a proportionate share in this new government, but the little they had gained, proved what may be expected in the future. The interest of the Northern States will so predominate as to divest this State of any pretensions to the title of a republic. What cause was there of jealousy for the importation of negroes? That trade can be justified on the principles of religion, humanity, and justice; for to translate a set of human beings from a bad country to a better was fulfilling every part of those principles." Mr. Rutledge answered: "We have our full share of the House, fears of the Northern interest at all times prevailing, are unfounded, for several of the Northern States are already full of people, and the migrations to the South are great. We shall, in a few years, rise high in our representation, whilst their States will keep their present position."

General Pinckney, in answer to Mr. Lowndes, who had reiterated that all the advantages which captivated gentlemen, were small, in proportion to the evils to be apprehended from a majority, governed by ideas and prejudices differing extremely from theirs, spoke more fully: "Every member who attended the Convention was, from the beginning, sensible of the necessity of giving greater powers to the federal government. As we found it necessary to give it very extensive powers over the persons and estates of citizens, we thought it right to draw one branch of the Legislature, immediately from the people, and that both wealth and members should be considered in representation. We were at a loss for some time for a rule to ascertain the proportionate wealth of the States. At last we thought, that the productive labor of the inhabitants, was the best rule. In conformity to this rule, joined to a spirit of concession, we determined that representatives should be apportioned among the several States, by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of the slaves. We thus obtained a representation for our property, and I did not expect we conceded too much to the Eastern States, when they allowed us a representation for a species of property, which they have not among them. The

numbers in the different States, according to the most accurate accounts we could obtain, were :

New Hampshire . . . . .	102,000
Massachusetts . . . . .	360,000
Rhode Island . . . . .	58,000
Connecticut . . . . .	202,000
New York . . . . .	233,000
New Jersey . . . . .	130,000
Pennsylvania . . . . .	360,000
Delaware . . . . .	37,000
Maryland, including $\frac{1}{2}$ 80,000 negroes . . . . .	218,000
Virginia, including $\frac{1}{2}$ 280,000 negroes . . . . .	420,000
North Carolina, including $\frac{1}{2}$ 60,000 negroes . . . . .	200,000
South Carolina, including $\frac{1}{2}$ 80,000 negroes . . . . .	150,000
Georgia, including $\frac{1}{2}$ 20,000 negroes . . . . .	90,000

South Carolina has one-thirteenth of the representatives, all she is entitled to, and all she has in the Confederation. As the Eastern States are full of people, and the migration is South and South-westwardly, it is not probable that the representation of the South will be inadequate. The Southern States have been termed the weak States; they are so weak that they could not form a Union by themselves, that would effectually protect them. Without a Union with the other States, South Carolina would soon fall. Is any one such a Quixote as to suppose that this State could maintain her independence alone, or in connection with the other Southern States? Let an invading power send a naval force into the Chesapeake, to keep Virginia in alarm, and attack South Carolina, with such a naval and military force as Sir Henry Clinton brought here in 1780, and though they might not soon conquer us, they would certainly do us infinite mischief, and if they considerably increased their numbers, we should probably fall. From the nature of our climate, and the fewness of our inhabitants, undoubtedly the weaker, should we not endeavor to form a close union with the Eastern States, which are strong? Ought we not to endeavor to increase that species of strength which will render them of most service to us in peace, and in war, their navy? By doing this, we render it their particular interest to afford us every assistance in their power, as every wound we receive, will eventually affect them. Their country is full of inhabitants, and so impracticable to an invader by their numerous stone walls, and a variety of other circumstances, that they need not apprehend danger from attack. They can enjoy their independence without our assistance. If our government is to be founded on equal compact, what inducement can they possibly have to be united with us, if

we do not grant them some privileges with regard to their shipping? Suppose they were to unite with us without having those privileges, can we flatter ourselves that such union would be lasting? Interest and policy concurred in prevailing upon us to submit the regulation of commerce to the General Government. But justice and humanity require it likewise. Who have been the greatest sufferers in the Union by our obtaining our independence? The Eastern States. They have lost everything but their country and freedom. As to the restriction upon the African trade after 1808, your delegates had to contend with the religious and political prejudices of the Eastern and Middle States, and the interested and inconsistent opinion of Virginia. So long as there is an acre of swamp-land uncultivated in South Carolina, I favor the importation of negroes. Our climate, and the flat, swampy situation of our country, obliges us to cultivate our lands with them. Without them, the State would be a desert. Those members of the Convention who opposed an unlimited importation, alleged that slaves increased the weakness of any State which admitted them; that they were a dangerous species of property, which an invading enemy could easily turn against ourselves, and the neighboring States, and that as we were allowed a representation for them, our influence in the government would be increased, in proportion, as we were less able to defend ourselves. Show us some period, said the members from the Eastern States, when it may be in our power, if we please, to put a stop to the importation of this weakness, and we will endeavor for your convenience, to restrain the religious and political prejudices of our people upon this subject. The Middle States and Virginia made no such proposition, they were for immediate and total prohibition. A committee of the States was appointed to accommodate this matter, and after a great deal of difficulty, it was settled on the footing recited in the Constitution. By this settlement we have secured an unlimited transportation of negroes for twenty years. Nor is it declared that it shall then stop; it may be continued. We have a security that the General Government can never emancipate them, for no such authority is granted, and it is admitted on all hands that the General Government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several States. We have obtained a right to recover our slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge, which is a right we had not before. We have made the best terms for the security of that species of property it was in our power to make, and upon the whole they are not bad." Mr. Lowndes persisted: "The Confederation recognized the status of the States as fixed by themselves, in the treaty of peace with

Great Britain. That recognition did not appear in the proposed plan, and the possibilities of danger from that omission, overbalanced any advantages."

Mr. Barnewell characterized the supposed inevitable antagonism of the Eastern States as a prejudice. "There were no facts to support it. When the arm of oppression lay heavy upon us, were they not the first to arouse: when the sword of civil discord was drawn, were they not the first in the field; when war deluged their plains with blood, did they demand Southern troops to the defence of the North; when war floated to the South, did they withhold their assistance? When we stood with the spirit, but the weakness of youth, they supported us with the vigor and prudence of age. When our country was subdued, when our citizens submitted to superior power, those States showed their attachment. I see here no man, who does not know that the shackles of the South, were broken asunder by the arms of the North. We are indeed in a minority, but there must be a majority somewhere. Either North or South must be in that relation to each other. That this Constitution is not the best possible to be framed, is undeniable, but it is the best our situation admits of." Mr. Edward Rutledge, compared the governmental powers in the old and new Constitutions: "They differed very little, except in the essential point of giving a power to government of enforcing its obligations. Surely no man could object to that. So far from not preferring the Northern States by a Navigation Act, policy dictated to us to increase their strength by every means in our power. In the day of danger, we should have no resource but in the naval strength of our Northern friends. We must hold our country by courtesy, unless we have a navy, and can never become a great nation, till powerful upon the waters."

General Pinckney dated independence from "that declaration which babes should be taught to lisp in their cradles, youth to recite as an indispensable lesson, young men to regard as their compact of freedom, and the old to repeat with ejaculations of gratitude, for the blessings it would bestow on their posterity. The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States, were never thought of by the patriots who framed it. The several States are not even mentioned by name in any part of it, as if it were intended to impress this maxim on Americans that our freedom and independence arose from our Union, and that without it, we could be neither free nor independent. Let us consider all attempts to weaken the Union, by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent, as a species of political heresy, which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses."

Mr. Lowndes was "pained to appear pertinacious, but as his constituents were in favor of the Constitution, and therefore he should not sit in the Convention, he relied upon the indulgence of the House for the performance of his duty to his State, by whose decision, he, as a good citizen, must cheerfully abide. The arguments adduced, he must consider specious, Supposing we considered ourselves so aggrieved as to insist on redress what was the probability of relief? In revolving a misfortune, some little gleams of comfort, resulted from a hope of being able to resort to an impartial tribunal. Would that be found in Congress? As to immigration from the Eastern to the Southern States, our country from its excessive heats is so uncomfortable, that our acquaintance is rather shunned, than solicited."

Mr. Lincoln "had listened with eager attention to all the arguments in favor of the Constitution, and the more he heard, the more he was convinced of its evil tendency. You contended ten years for liberty. What is liberty? The power of governing yourself. If you adopt this Constitution, do you have that power? no; you give it to men who live a thousand miles from you. What security have you for a Republican form of Government, when it depends upon the will and pleasure of a few men, with an army, a navy, and a rich treasury at their back, to alter and change it at their will?"

The motion for a Convention passed unanimously. Of the opposition in that Convention, a solitary memorial is extant.

Patrick Dollard, claimed that "his people, the people of Prince Frederick Parish, were brave, honest, and industrious, and that they had been conspicuous in the late bloody struggle. Nearly to a man they are opposed to this Constitution. Willing to vest ample and sufficient powers in Congress, they will not agree to make over to them, or to any set of men, their birthright. They are highly alarmed at the long and rapid strides taken in this Constitution toward despotism. They say it is big with political evils, and pregnant with a great variety of woes to the people of the Southern States, and especially to South Carolina; that it is particularly calculated for a despotic aristocracy, and carries with it the appearance of a phrase much in use in despotic reigns, the favorite of Archbishop Laud—'non-resistance.'"

The Constitution was adopted by a vote of one hundred and forty-nine to seventy-three.

A. W. Blason

## HISTORIC ASPECTS OF SABLE ISLAND

Lying right in the track of that vast international commerce which all the year round whitens the broad Atlantic with its sails, or clouds it with its smoke, and spreading its entangling shallows far out on either hand like the tentacles of some primeval polypus, Sable Island, with its frequent fogs, its oft-recurring gales, and terrible disasters, has for three centuries past been held in deservedly evil reputation by those who do business upon the great waters. Joseph Howe, the poet-orator of Nova Scotia, apostrophizes it in these harsh terms :

"Dark Isle of Mourning !  
Aptly art thou named."

Dr. Taché in his delightful monograph, to which I here have pleasure in making my acknowledgments, calls it the ossuary of the Atlantic, and compares it to "the valley which was full of dry bones" that Ezekiel beheld when the hand of the Lord was upon him, while among the seafarers it is popularly known as the Graveyard of the North Atlantic.

In truth, the history of Sable Island is a very somber one, befitting the bare, bleak appearance of the place as one approaches either from the ocean spaces of the East, or the forest-clad shores of the West. Its geographical situation is about ninety miles due east from the northern end of Nova Scotia, between the forty-third degree of north latitude, and the fifty-ninth of west longitude. Shaped somewhat like a crescent with the concave side turned northward, and rising at its greatest elevation less than ninety feet from sea-level, it makes but little show above the surface of the waves. Its present length is not more than twenty-three miles, and breadth about one mile, although an admiralty survey made in 1808, reported the former as being thirty miles, and the latter two and a half. A lake some ten or twelve miles long occupies the center of the island.

Sable Island possesses few natural attractions. There are no contrasts of color, so grateful to the eye of those who have grown weary of limitless sea and sky. Even the sunshine of a midsummer day fails pitifully in casting any glamour over its grim homeliness, while a midwinter storm invests it with an accumulation of terrors beyond measure appalling. And yet, despite this apparent insignificance, so much might be written about the unceasing resistless migration of its sands eastward, the startling changes which have taken place in its size and shape within the present

century, the curious phases and alternations of animal life its shores have witnessed, and the puzzling problems for botanists and zoologists there presented, that only the surpassing interest of its human history, and the fear lest in the space allotted me, I may hardly do justice to that, gives me resolution to pass these matters by untouched.

For the very first appearance of Sable Island in history, we must go back through many centuries to that misty medieval period when the hardy Danes delighted to voyage forth upon daring quests whose Iliad is the Icelandic saga. According to this trustworthy chronicle, wherein such wondrous adventures by field and flood find record, one Biorn Heriulfson, in the year 986, purposing no more ambitious adventure than a slant across from Greenland to Iceland, was taken possession of by adverse winds, and driven far to the south and west, thereby unwillingly and unwittingly becoming the first European to set eyes upon the New World. Having passed Helluland (now Newfoundland), and Markland (Nova Scotia), he came in sight of a barren sandy region, which from the account he gives of it could have been no other than Sable Island. Unfortunately for his future fame he either lacked the courage, or could not spare the time, to proceed a little farther westward, for had he done so, to him, and not to Christopher Columbus, would have fallen the imperishable glory of discovering America. Even as it is, Professor Rafn has shown—and his conclusions are generally accepted—that what is now called Massachusetts and Rhode Island was settled by the Scandinavians late in the tenth century; so that the opportunity Heriulfson thus neglected must have been improved not many years later by some kinsman of hardier spirit.

Between Biorn Heriulfson and the next recorded visitor there is a long hiatus, during which the island probably slumbered in undisturbed solitude, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese, who were then vigorously pursuing the Newfoundland fisheries, which had been discovered for them by John Cabot, must have found it out anew, as on a chart prepared by Pedro Reinal, dated 1505, the island is laid down as "Santa Crus." They were shrewd fellows, those Portuguese, for, observing the abundance of coarse, succulent grass flourishing throughout the center of the island, and the plenitude of water supplied by the lake, they conceived the admirable plan of stocking the place with cattle, and thus providing a fresh-meat market conveniently near their fishing-grounds. The scheme succeeded to perfection, and, ere long, herds of cattle and droves of swine gave life and noise to this hitherto dead and silent region. These laudable efforts, moreover, were involuntarily supplemented, some years later, by the Baron de Lery, who, being fired with enterprise by the

accounts which reached the French court of the Eldorado beyond the Western ocean, exhausted his entire resources in the equipment of an expedition designed to plant a colony there that should be the germ of a new nation. Accordingly, in 1538 he fitted out a fleet of small vessels, loaded them deep with men, cattle, grain, and other essentials, and set sail for America. But the fates were not propitious. One storm followed closely upon another, and the expedition was thereby so delayed that it did not reach its destination until late in the autumn. There was no time to prepare for the winter, and no other alternative than to return. But before so doing the baron lightened his vessel by depositing the cattle upon Sable Island. Among them, no doubt, were several horses, from which have sprung the herds of shaggy, sharp-boned ponies which still scamper wild over the sand-dunes, and whose origin is otherwise inexplicable.

The next recorded event opens out for us the ever-lengthening roll of maritime disaster whose dread total can never be estimated until the sea gives up her dead. Hundreds of ships and thousands of lives are *known* to have found an untimely grave at Sable Island. But how shall be reckoned up the number of those who

"Unknelled, uncoffined, and *unknown*"

have there passed into oblivion?

In the year 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "the pious and accomplished gallant" of good Queen Bess, and half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, who founded Virginia and introduced the art of smoking into England, went out upon a voyage of exploration with five ships equipped in the best manner of those days, and guided by experienced pilots. Associated with him in this enterprise were a *savant* of high renown, name unknown, but stated to have been "a Saxon refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches," a Hungarian poet, Stephanus Parmenius, who "for piety and zeal for good attempts adventured in this action minding to record in the Latin tongue the things worthy of remembrance, to the honor of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent style of this orator and rare poet of our time;" and also Captain Richard Brown, one of the most renowned mariners of the time, "a virtuous, honest, and discreet gentleman, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedy appeared;" for refusing to leave his ship, "he mounted upon the highest deck, where he attended imminent danger and unavoidable, how long I leave to God, who withdraweth not His comfort from His servants at such times."

Sir Humphrey had a prosperous voyage to Newfoundland, of which country he took possession in the name of his queen, and having remained

there some time, bethought himself of visiting Sable Island and restocking his depleted larder before taking up the long voyage back across the Atlantic. The story of what followed was told by Edward Hays, captain of the sole surviving vessel, and I cannot do better than transcribe it as it has been preserved for us by Hakluyt in his *Voyages*, my quotations, with those already given, being taken from a bewildering black-letter edition bearing date in 1583:

"Sable lieth to the seaward of Cape Breton, about  $45^{\circ}$ , whither we were determined to go upon intelligence we had of a Portingall during our abode in St. Johns, who was also himself present when the Portingalls about thirty years past did put into the same Island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied. The distance between Cape Race and Cape Breton is 100 leagues in which navigation we spent 8 days. Having the wind many times indifferent good, but could never obtain sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers that hardly any of us escaped. Where nevertheless we lost our "Admiral" (the name of one of the ships), with all the men and provisions.

"Contrary to the mind of expert Master Cox on Wednesday, 27<sup>th</sup> August we bore up toward the land, those in the doomed ship continually sounding trumpets and guns, while strange voices from the deep scared the helmsman from his post on board the Frigate.

"Thursday the 28<sup>th</sup> the wind arose and blew vehemently from the South and East, bringing withal rain and thick mist that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes we were run and fouled amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found flats and deeps every three or four ships lengths. Immediately tokens were given to the "Admiral" to cast about to seaward which being the greater ship was performest upon the beach. Keeping so ill a watch they knew not the danger before they felt the same too late to recover, for presently the "Admiral" struck aground, and had soon her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces. The remaining two vessels escaped by casting about E. S. E., bearing to the South for their lives, even in the wind's eye. Sounding one while 7 fathoms, then 5, then 4 fathoms and less, again deeper, then immediately 4, then 3 fathoms, the sea going mightily and high;"—as accurate a description of beating over the north-east bar as if it had been done only yesterday.

Thus the disaster-darkened record begins with a holocaust of one hundred men, with whom went down the man of science, the man of letters, and most rare poet of our time, and the man of honor, daring death rather than desert his post, and all told, as Dr. Bernard Gilpin remarks in his

entertaining little pamphlet, in that racy style only an eye-witness could use, and with an unaffected strain of old-fashioned piety that comes back to us over the wide interval of years like the flavor of some rare old wine.

As for Sir Humphrey himself he did but escape one danger to fall straightway into another, for a few days after he was caught in a fearful gale on the Grand Banks, and his sole remaining consort carried home the sorrowful news that the heroic admiral hailed them during the raging storm, "that Heaven was as near by sea as by land," and shortly after, standing at the helm, sorely wounded in his foot, and Bible in hand, went down beneath the relentless waves.

Fifteen years elapse in barrenness of incident, and then comes one of those stories which though sober fact surpass in strangeness the wildest flights of the romancer. Champlain, Les-carbot, le Père Le Clerc, and Charlevoix, have each preserved an independent account of the matter, and they tally so closely as to leave not the narrowest cranny into which "destructive criticism" may fasten its insidious tendrils. In January, 1598, Henry IV. of France by letters patent granted to the Marquis de la Roche almost absolute powers over "the islands and countries of Canada, Sable Island, Newfoundland, and the adjacent regions" to the end that the poor benighted savages inhabiting those lands might be brought to a knowledge of the true God, all selfish ideas of national aggrandizement being of course piously absent from the royal mind. This Marquis de la Roche was no ordinary personage. He had been Governor of Morlaix, and President of the Nantes States, and in his youth had served as page before Catherine de Médicis. Yet his expedition was so modest, not to say cheap, in its proportion and equipment as to seem quite unworthy its ambitious mission, or the vice-regal rank of its commander. One vessel constituted the fleet, and it so small, that, according to a contemporary chronicle, you could wash your hands in the water without leaving the deck, while forty out of the sixty men comprising the marquis' army of occupation and evangelization, were convicts chosen from the royal prisons. It is just around this quarantine of convicts that the whole interest gathers, for as the little vessel drew near the New World, the marquis foreseeing danger in landing his flock of jail-birds without first having made some provision for their safe-keeping, bethought himself of leaving them upon Sable Island until he had selected the site of his colony, and brought things somewhat into shape. Accordingly, to quote Les-carbot, "*ayant là déchargé ses gens et bagage*," he proceeded composedly on his way. But alas for the vanity of human planning! The gray hummocks of Les Sablons had scarce sunk below the horizon ere a tempest burst upon his ship

which rested not until it had blown the marquis clear back to France again, and no sooner had he landed than an enraged creditor cast him into prison, where he languished in utter inability to do anything for the men he had so undesignedly deserted.

And how fared it with them during the five long years they were left to themselves upon this isle of desolation? At first it would seem as if on being thus released from all restraint they fought with one another like entrapped rats, for Les-carbot tells that "*ces gens se mutinerent, et se coupèrent la gorge l'un à l'autre.*" Then as the horror of their situation fully dawned upon them, and they realized that only by harmonious co-operation could any life be preserved, better counsels prevailed, and systematic efforts were put forth to secure a maintenance. From the wreck of a Spanish ship they built themselves huts, the ocean furnished them with fire-wood, the wild cattle with meat, the seals with clothing, and with some seeds and farming implements happily included among the "*bagage*" mentioned by Les-carbot, they carried on agricultural operations in a sheltered valley by the lake-side whose tradition remains to this day by the locality being known as the French Gardens. Moreover the chase of the black fox, which then abounded, and of the great morse or walrus, enabled them to lay up goodly stores of precious pelts and ivory against the ever-hoped-for day of their redemption.

Despite these alleviations in the rigor of their fate, however, the utter absence of the most necessary comforts, and their own evil deeds so reduced their numbers that when, in 1603, the king sent a vessel to bring them back, only eleven out of the original forty were found alive. Clad in their self-made seal-skin garments, broken, haggard, and unkempt, they were presented before Henry IV., and their harrowing tale so touched the royal heart that they each received a full pardon for their crimes, and a *solatium* of fifty golden crowns. The strangest part of the story remains yet to be told. Undeterred by an experience that was surely sufficient to appall the stoutest hearted, these Rip Van Winkles of the sea, whose names may still be found on record in the *Registres d'Audience du Parlement de Rouen*, returned to their place of exile, and drove a thriving trade in furs and ivory with their mother country for many years, until one by one they passed away.

About a twelvemonth after the convicts' rescue, the expedition of the Sieur de Monts, which had in view the founding of Port Royal (now Annapolis, Nova Scotia), narrowly escaped a disastrous ending among the sands of Sable Island, and we read in Champlain's "*Voyages*" that on the first of May they had knowledge of "l'Ile de Sable," and ran great risk of

being cast ashore there. That, however, was only a might-have-been. Worthy Master John Rose, of Boston, whose experience may be found recorded in Winthrop's *Journal*, did not fare by any means so well thirty years later, inasmuch as he had knowledge of Sable Island at the cost of his good ship the *Mary Ann Jane*. He did not remain long in exile, for being a handy man with tools he built himself a pinnace out of the débris of his vessel, and thereby succeeded in making his escape. On his return to Boston he gave such glowing accounts of the island's animal wealth, special emphasis being laid upon "more than 800 wild cattle, and a great many foxes, many of which were black," that public enterprise was stimulated to the extent of a company being formed to put his discovery to good account. This company went to work so energetically that the Acadian authorities, to whom the island now belonged, had to issue a proclamation against any more cattle being killed. But the proclamation being unaccompanied by any show of force proved no more effectual than estimable Dame Partington's endeavors to push back the Atlantic Ocean, and not long after its issuance the cattle totally disappeared, leaving the wild horses in undisputed possession of the pastures.

To Winthrop, whose *Journal* has been already quoted, we are indebted for another item of the island's history not elsewhere recorded. He has an entry to the effect that in 1635, the English having returned thither to pursue the chase of the walrus and fox were much surprised, and no less chagrined, to find already in possession some sixteen Frenchmen who had evidently been there all winter and had built a little fort. These men were probably employés of the de Razilly brothers, to whom Sable Island had been granted in that off-hand manner which distinguished the French monarchs of that time, and they had made good use of their opportunities, as their accumulations of hides and pelts betokened. On the death of Commander de Razilly, which took place in 1637, the French must have abandoned the place, for Winthrop further notes that the New Englanders had the field all to themselves from 1639 to 1642, and we may form some idea of the value of this monopoly from his statement that their last expedition yielded over £1,500, or more than \$7,000.

From that time until the beginning of the nineteenth century very little is known concerning Sable Island, save that each year added a darker tinge to its somber reputation as a naval cemetery. More dreadful, however, than the unconscious fury of the storm was the deliberate wickedness of the demons in human form who now made this peculiarly favorable spot their haunt and hunting ground. Wreckers, pirates, and vagabonds of like infamous stamp were attracted thither by the unceasing succession of

wrecks, and the absence of all restraint, and they plied their infernal trade so vigorously that the terror of their name spread far and wide. The discretion of dead men to tell no tales can always be trusted, and so when some rich wreck rejoiced the hearts of these wretches they made it their care to dispatch all those ill-starred castaways whom even the raging surf had spared. For a time all went merrily with them, and many an adventurer who left his home "under sealed orders" returned in a suspiciously short time with well-lined pockets. Rare jewels, costly silks, and other articles of what Magwitch would professionally designate as "portable property," not guiltless of a sinister connection with Sable Island, found their way surreptitiously into the shops of Halifax and Boston, while blood-chilling tales of horrid deeds done where there was no heart to pity and no hand to save, became current on the main-land.

But the most successful of scoundrels eventually reach the end of their tether, however supinely the atrocities may be endured for a season. The Nova Scotian government, too long culpably indifferent, was at length goaded into action by the loss of the transport *Princess Amelia*, and the gun-brig *Harriet* in quick succession. At the suggestion of Sir John Wentworth an appropriation was made in 1803 for the settlement of guardians upon the island. Then a proclamation was issued that all persons found residing there without a government license would be removed, and punished with at least six years' imprisonment, and this proclamation, unlike the one about the cattle, being backed up by a show of force, the wreckers deemed it expedient to remove themselves without standing upon the order of their going.

With their departure the romance of Sable Island's history ends. From the year 1803 the Imperial and Nova Scotian authorities maintained a settlement there called the Humane Establishment, and under its régime the only breaks in the peaceful monotony of insular existence have been the never-failing wrecks whereof no less than one hundred and sixty are already noted in the Superintendent's register. On the union of the Canadian Provinces the island came under the charge of the Federal Government, and since then every year has witnessed steady improvement in the equipment of the Establishment. Better buildings have been constructed, the number of guardians increased, regular communication by steamer with the main-land provided, two fine light-houses erected, one on either end of the island, at a cost of \$100,000, two life-boats of the most improved pattern placed there, in the use of which the crews are drilled every week, and, finally, a complete system of telephone connection fitted up between the stations, so that when the telegraph cable to the

main-land now seriously contemplated, is laid, Sable Island will have no superior as a life-saving station in the world.

The sea in its fury is no respecter of persons. All nations are alike to it, and since the guiding motto of the Humane Establishment in its philanthropic work should be "*nihil humanum a me alienum est*," the paramount importance of the island's neutrality being sacredly respected in event of war is at once apparent. I am glad therefore to have before me a precedent which affords the pleasing assurance that so far at least as one great nation is concerned there is no ground for apprehension. During the war of 1812, and while that lamentable struggle was at its height, the Government of the United States issued strict orders to all their war-ships and privateers not to molest or detain in any wise whatsoever vessels going to or coming from Sable Island on business with the Establishment.

In thus reviewing the historic aspects of Sable Island I have rigidly confined myself to those phases of its storied past the authenticity of which cannot be disputed. As may be easily conceived the scope for fantastic conjecture and ghostly legend afforded by a spot so rich in unique incident and pregnant relic is simply boundless. And the field has not been left untilled. Weird and thrilling tales, fit themes for the pen of a Poe or a Robert Louis Stevenson, may be harvested in plenty. Some of these are true perchance, but more, no doubt, still linger in the misty confines of the "o'er true." And the latter, surrounded with a historic halo, appeal with strange force to the imagination if not to the reason.

How much credence shall we give to the Legend of the Pale Lady with the Bloody Finger; of the silent solitary Regicide here seeking expiation for his crime; of the heroic priest who volunteered to share the fate of de la Roche's convicts, and fell a victim to the rigors of his self-sought banishment; of King Louis' courtier exiled hither that the insatiable debauchee might add his beautiful wife to the imperial harem? Grim legends are they all, yet each well worth the telling. But not here or now, for they are at best only the mere shadows of history, and it is time to part company with Sable Island as circled round with wrecks, sown thick and deep with known and unknown dead, haunted by uneasy spirits, and lashed by every gale that sweeps across the ocean spaces, it lifts its low gray hummocks above the heaving waters of the North Atlantic.

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## THE NEW MEXICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1862

### A STIRRING CHAPTER OF OUR LATE CIVIL WAR

Whatever might be the law and fact in the case, it was very hard, twenty-five years ago, to consider California as actually one of the United States and in just as good standing as Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. It was rather like an outlying colony. More than three weeks were required for the journey from New York, by Aspinwall and Panama, to San Francisco; and the perils and hardships of the overland trip from the Missouri were such as to daunt all but the most experienced and stout-hearted. Its residents spoke habitually of "the States" as do the British colonists in Ceylon or New Zealand of "home." Included in its population was a large and influential Southern element; and, at the breaking out of the Civil War, there might well have been grave apprehension at Washington as to its position. Of course, as it turned out, the State fell into the Union line, and her sons did their country noble service; but, during the first year of the conflict and while Southern influences were active on the Pacific coast, the Confederates at Richmond cast many wistful glances in that direction. They had possession, complete and final, of Texas. North-west of this mammoth State, as a glance at the map will show the reader, are New Mexico and Arizona; north of the former, Colorado, which was not many months old in the summer of 1861. One may say of New Mexico and Arizona, as Sir Humphry Davy said of the sea, that they would be chosen "for dominion, rather than for a residence." General Sherman once remarked that he would advocate a new war with Mexico to make her take them back; and it is hardly to be supposed that they, of themselves, offered the Richmond government a prize worth winning. Through them, on the other hand, lay the road from Texas to California; and in New Mexico were several forts and supply depots, notably Fort Union.

In a brief monograph on affairs in New Mexico, prepared some years ago, when it was very difficult to obtain correct detailed information, I took the ground that the real end and aim on the part of the Confederates, in the campaign of which I am now writing, were nothing more nor less than the capture of California; and I had the pleasure of seeing my position confirmed by the highest military authority in the country. Additional evidence on this point has since come to light. The campaign of itself was picturesque and interesting in a high degree; but the checking

and final expulsion of the invading force were far more important, in view of the ultimate object of the movement, than if its commander had sought only the possession of sterile and desolate regions, destitute of many of the necessities of life, and harried by hostile Indians.

On June 11, 1861, Colonel Loring, of the Mounted Riflemen, who had been in command of the Department of New Mexico, and who had previously resigned, took his departure from Santa Fé, leaving in charge Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel E. R. S. Canby, a gallant and devoted soldier, of whose brave deeds it is impossible to speak in too high praise. Loring, with other officers, made his way as speedily as possible to the Confederate lines. Among these others was Henry H. Sibley, late Major First Dragoons, who wrote to Colonel Loring, on June 12, 1861, from El Paso: "We are at last under the glorious banner of the Confederate States of America." . . . "I regret now more than ever the sickly sentimentality (I can call it by no other name) by which I was overruled in my desire to bring my whole command with me. I am satisfied of the disaffection of the best of the rank and file in New Mexico." How grievously he was mistaken he was not long in learning.

Just where Mexico, Texas, and New Mexico meet, and in Texas, just across the Rio Grande from El Paso del Norte, Mexico, was Fort Bliss, occupied in July by a Confederate force under Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor, of the Second Regiment Mounted Rifles, C. S. A. This officer entered New Mexico and occupied Mesilla on July 25. This town is on the Rio Grande, and near it was Fort Fillmore, where was stationed Major Isaac Lynde, Seventh Infantry, commanding the Southern Military District of New Mexico. Colonel Canby's feelings can be imagined when he learned that this officer, having failed to dislodge Baylor from Mesilla, had subsequently, in the face of the indignant protest of his officers, surrendered his whole command of some 700 men.

Colonel Baylor lost no time about occupying the land, on paper at least. On August 1st he issued a proclamation, signed by him as *Governor* and Lieutenant-Colonel, etc., etc., in which he took possession of the Territory "in the name and behalf of the Confederate States of America;" and on the 14th he wrote from Fort Bliss to General Van Dorn, C.S.A. (commanding the Confederate Department of Texas), as follows: "The vast mineral resources of Arizona" (he had ordained in his proclamation that this should comprise the portion of New Mexico lying south of Lat. 34°), "*in addition to its affording an outlet to the Pacific coast*" (italics are added), "make its acquisition a matter of some importance to our government, and now that I have taken possession of the Territory, I trust a

force sufficient to occupy and hold it will be sent by the government under some competent man."

Colonel Canby did his best to prepare for further invasion, which he had every reason to expect. He called upon the Governor of New Mexico for volunteers, and great efforts were made to raise and equip them. On August 16, he wrote to the assistant adjutant-general Western Department, St. Louis:

"The people of the Territory, with few exceptions, I believe, are loyal, but they are apathetic in disposition, and will adopt any measures that may be necessary for the defense of their Territory with great tardiness, looking with greater concern to their private, and often petty interests, and delaying or defeating the objects of the government by their personal or political quarrels. I question very much whether a sufficient force for the defense of the Territory can be raised within its limits, and I place no reliance upon any volunteer force that can be raised, unless strongly supported by regular troops." On September 8, he said: "I have the honor to report that the defensive works at Fort Craig are nearly completed;" and again, on September 22, "About 650 volunteers have been mustered into the service since my last report." On the 8th of December he reported to Washington: "The Confederate force in the Mesilla Valley is about 800 men of their regular troops, and from 200 to 300 men organized from the floating population of the Mesilla."

Poor Colonel Canby was terribly embarrassed by the want of military supplies and money. On August 10, he wrote to General Fremont, at St. Louis: "I have heretofore called the General-in-Chief's attention to the destitute condition of this department in military resources and supplies of every kind. There is not artillery enough in the department to arm a single post properly, and the supply of ammunition, except for small arms, is exceedingly limited. Remounts for cavalry horses and draught animals for the quartermaster's department cannot be procured in the department, and the estimates made upon the quartermaster-general have not yet been answered.

"No information has yet been received with regard to the annual supply of ordnance stores required for the use of the troops in the department. If it is the intention of the government to retain this department, I urgently recommend that the supplies necessary for the efficiency of the troops (regulars or volunteers), and especially those already estimated for, should be furnished as soon as practicable." On November 18, he said: "The military operations in this department have for several months past been greatly embarrassed, and are now almost entirely paralyzed, by the

want of funds in the pay department. Many of the regular troops have not been paid for more than twelve months, and the volunteers not at all." Speaking of a loan, he added: "I have personally pledged myself for the interest." Again, on January 13, 1862, he wrote: "The last mail from the East brought information from private sources that the paymaster who was understood to be on his way to this country with funds for the payment of the troops has been detained at Fort Leavenworth, and that no funds would be sent out until spring. Whether this report be true or not, the effect of its circulation through the country at this time will be exceedingly unfortunate."

Meantime the Confederates had been busy. On July 8, 1861, H. H. Sibley, late Major U. S. A. (a letter from whom is herein-before quoted) appeared as Brigadier-General C. S. A., and was ordered from Richmond to proceed without delay to Texas, and organize an expedition for driving the Federal troops from New Mexico, his "recent service . . . and knowledge of the country and its people," having, in Jefferson Davis's opinion, peculiarly fitted him for that duty. The authorities at Richmond seem to have been specially inspired by a letter from "Chief-Justice M. H. McWillie, La Mesilla, Arizona," dated June 30, 1861. He said: "Now, might it not be well, secretly of course, and at an early moment, to fit out an expedition to New Mexico? . . . The stores, supplies, and munitions of war within New Mexico and Arizona are immense, and I am decidedly of opinion that the game is worth the ammunition. . . . The expedition I suggest would relieve Texas, open communication to the Pacific, and break the line of operations . . . designed to circumvallate the South." He added the following pleasing hint: "One regiment of Cherokees or Choctaws, well mounted, would inspire more wholesome terror in the Mexican population than an army of Americans."

Sibley met with much delay in organizing his forces in Texas; and his *avant-coureur*, Baylor, became uneasy about his foot-hold in New Mexico, and feared he might be compelled to retreat.

On November 16, 1861, the order was given at San Antonio, Texas, for the "Sibley Brigade" to take up the line of march for El Paso. This order was signed by "A. M. Jackson, assistant adjutant-general Army of New Mexico." He had been Secretary of the Territory, and it was Colonel Canby's opinion that the proposed invasion was arranged by him. Sibley reached El Paso after the middle of December, 1861 and, on the 20th, issued a proclamation taking possession of New Mexico. In it he said: "To my old comrades in arms, still in the ranks of the usurpers of their government and liberties, I appeal in the name of former friendship.

Drop at once the arms which degrade you into the tools of tyrants, renounce their service, and array yourself under the colors of justice and freedom. I am empowered to receive you into the service of the Confederate States, the officers upon their commissions, the men upon their enlistments."

This was on a par with other strenuous efforts made to induce the unpaid, ill-clothed and half-starved Union forces to desert their flag. To the lasting honor of these brave and loyal men, exposed to terrible temptations and deserted by their government, let it be recorded that only one man out of twelve hundred deserted, and it was not certain that he joined the Confederates.

Early in 1862, Colonel Canby established his head-quarters at Fort Craig on the Rio Grande, some distance north of Mesilla; and on February 14, he reported to Washington that the Confederates were moving slowly up the river and were within twenty miles of the post. This force embraced Reily's and Green's regiments, five companies of Steele's and five of Baylor's regiments, and Teel's and Riley's batteries. To oppose it, Canby had five companies of the Fifth, three of the Seventh and three of the Tenth Infantry; two companies of the First, and five of the Third Cavalry; McRae's battery (manned by Companies G of the Second and I of the Third Cavalry), and a company of Colorado volunteers. Of New Mexican troops he had the First Regiment of Volunteers (commanded by Christopher or "Kit" Carson), seven companies of the Second, seven of the Third, one of the Fourth, two of the Fifth, a Spy Company and about 1,000 unorganized militia. In recording the numbers engaged in the battle which ensued, a historian encounters the usual discrepancies in official accounts. Canby gave his actual aggregate at 3,810 and said that Sibley had a nominal aggregate of nearly 3,000, reduced by sickness and detachments to about 2,600. Sibley reported that the force opposed to him was not less than 5,000, with a reserve of 3,000 at the fort (!) and that he himself had but 1,750. Accepting this figure for his own men, there is no doubt that this force of 1,750, composed of brave and hardy Texas rangers, was a very formidable one. In Colonel Canby's report he stated that he had "no confidence in the militia, and but little in the volunteers," and events showed that he was quite right. The only troops which were anything but a source of weakness and danger to him were his regulars (about 900) and a few of the volunteers. He endeavored to bring on an action where the New Mexican troops "would not be obliged to maneuver in the presence or under the fire of the enemy." The latter, however, made no attempt to assault the fort (which stands on the west bank of the

Rio Grande), but, with the evident intention of turning the position, crossed to the east side about seven miles below. On the 20th, they marched up a ravine, and a skirmish ensued between them and a force thrown across the river from the fort. In this skirmish the Second Regiment of Volunteers was thrown into such confusion that it could not be rallied; and, as night was coming on, Canby ordered a recrossing of the river. Next morning (21st), at about eight o'clock, the Confederates made for a ford, seven miles up the river, and Canby sent a force on the west bank to occupy and hold this ford. The force was under the command of Major B. S. Roberts, Third Cavalry, acting as Colonel of Volunteers—a gallant and efficient officer. He took up his position and finally succeeded in driving the enemy from all points near this ford. Colonel Roberts then crossed and drove him still further back. At a quarter before three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Canby came on the field. The Confederates had taken a position behind the sand-hills, and he determined to make an effort to force the left of their line by advancing the right and center, turning on the left as a pivot. While his arrangements were in progress, Lieutenant Hall's two twenty-four pounders were attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and a detachment was made to protect them. At about this time a most formidable charge was made by about one thousand Texans on Captain McRae's battery. The men were maddened by thirst, and fought desperately. They trusted almost entirely to shot-guns, revolvers and bowie knives. An equally desperate resistance was made by Captain McRae, but in vain. His supports, undoubtedly, behaved badly, and he was killed, as was Lieutenant Mishler, Fifth Infantry. In his report, Canby said: "Pure in character, upright in conduct, and of a loyalty that was deaf to the seductions of family and friends, Captain McRae died, as he had lived, an example of the best and highest qualities that man can possess."

The Union forces crossed the river and returned to the fort, while the Confederates marched northward. Leaving the sick at Socorro, thirty miles north of Fort Craig, Sibley pushed on to Albuquerque. Thence he sent a detachment to occupy Santa Fé, and next decided to attack Fort Union, where there was, on June 30, as per official inventory, property valued at \$271,147.55. This had been, of course, his most important objective point from the first; and the most striking and picturesque features of the brief campaign in the Territory are found in connection with the manner in which, and the men by whom, he was met.

The Territory of Colorado was formed in February, 1861, and in May there came to govern it William Gilpin, a man strong and remarkable in

many ways. He was an old soldier (having been major of the famed regiment of Doniphan, which made the wonderful march across the plains and through Old Mexico in 1846-7) and a veteran explorer. He accomplished wonders in crushing a Secessionist movement in Denver, and in raising troops. Canby applied to him for aid in the summer of 1861; and he wrote in reply to an appeal on July 6th that he had ordered two companies to report at Fort Garland. He added: "The election just concluded exhibits an overwhelming popular majority in favor of the administration. It also reveals a strong malignant element essential to be controlled." On October 26th he wrote again, as follows: "The malignant secession element of this Territory has numbered 7,500. It has been ably and secretly organized from November last, and requires extreme and extraordinary measures to meet and control its onslaught. . . . Be well assured that I neglect no resource within my reach or attainable by energy to provide for the safety of this Territory, and produce a force capable of co-operating cordially in the operations in New Mexico, with which I am familiar."

He kept his word; and what the energy and patriotism of himself and his brave soldiers did for their country's cause will soon appear.

Great alarm was caused by the news of the battle of Valverde (opposite Fort Craig), and Sibley's advance. On the 28th of February, the acting inspector-general wrote from Santa Fé to General Halleck at St. Louis:

"You will probably learn from the telegraph, from rumor and from other sources that we have had a most desperate and bloody struggle with the Texans, and that, notwithstanding the great loss upon their part, we have lost one light battery and retreated to Fort Craig. Colonel Canby did everything which man could do to retake his battery and thus save the day. He beseeched and begged, ordered and imperatively commanded, troops to save his guns, and a deaf ear met alike his supplications and commands. . . . The enemy is now above Colonel Canby, on the Rio Grande, and, of course, has cut him off from all communication with his supplies. It is needless to say that this country is in a critical condition. The militia have all run away, and the New Mexican volunteers are deserting in large numbers. No dependence whatever can be placed on the natives; they are worse than worthless; they are really aids of the enemy, who catch them, take their arms, and tell them to go home. . . . A force of Colorado volunteers is already on the way to assist us, and they may possibly arrive in time to save us from immediate danger."

This force was the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. Its colonel was John P. Slough, a lawyer and "War Democrat." The lieutenant-

colonel, Samuel F. Tappan, was from Manchester-by-the-Sea, Massachusetts. Major John M. Chivington had been the presiding elder of the Methodist church in Denver, and Governor Gilpin meant him for chaplain; but he preferred fighting.

I have met, in later years, some of the company officers of this remarkable regiment, who impressed me very much by their eminent qualities. Among these qualities was that of modesty, and this, while a virtue of the first order, interferes with their value to an inquisitive scribe. I did once succeed, however, in securing a copy of extracts from a MS. journal of one of them (Major Jacob Downing), and from that and other sources I have learned much of the doings of Colonel Slough's command. They marched from Denver February 22d, through snow nearly a foot deep, and oppressed by "snow-storms and wind-storms, accompanied by sand and pebbles." In one day they actually made sixty-seven miles, and March 11 saw them at Fort Union, then under command of a gallant regular officer, Major Gabriel R. Paul, now living in Washington.

Governor Gilpin had been summoned to Washington, and it was the acting-governor, Lewis Weld, who, on February 14, wrote to Colonel Canby informing him of the approach of these valuable reinforcements. "You will find this regiment, I hope," said he, "a most efficient one, and of great support to you. It has had, of course, no experience in the field, but I trust that their enthusiasm and patriotic bravery will make amends, and more than that, for their lack of active service in the past."

Meantime, as the Confederates marched northward, the Federal stores at Albuquerque had been destroyed or removed by the quartermaster, and Santa Fé had been evacuated under the orders of Major Donaldson, commanding that district. On March 10, this officer reported his arrival under the guns of Fort Union, with a train of 120 wagons (contents valued at \$250,000) and a few soldiers. Major Paul, to his annoyance and disappointment, found, on Colonel Slough's arrival, that the latter "ranked" him and would act independently. Nevertheless, he turned his regular troops over to Slough; and, against his wishes, the gallant colonel left the Fort on Saturday, March 22, and marched to Bernal Springs, forty-five miles distant, arriving on the 25th. He had with him 1,342 men, of whom about 300 were regulars.

The "old Santa Fé trail," along a large part of which the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad now runs, is compelled to make a very great detour on its way from Las Vegas to its terminus. Santa Fé lies—"so near and yet so far"—not very distant, and a little north of west, yet the trail runs a little east of south to Bernal Peak; then west, then north-

west to the old Pecos Church; thence by devious ways to the ancient City of the Holy Faith. The road is seventy-five miles long, and I myself, on top of a six-horse Southern Overland mail stage, was about fifteen consecutive hours in traversing it, a few years ago. West of Pecos Church, the trail enters Apache Cañon, a grim defile flanked by perpendicular walls of rock, and one of the most remarkable passes in the world. Approaching it from the west, was, on March 25, the Confederate force under Colonel W. R. Scurry, Fourth Texas Cavalry, bound for Fort Union. I once ventured to say that he "knew well the road thither through Apache Cañon—just as the Persian Hydarnes, in B. C. 480, doubtless knew the road to some Grecian Fort Union through the Pass of Thermopylæ." After six years' reflection, and with official records now before me, I still think this a very fair statement.

Just where the cañon widens, near the eastern end, stood the ranch of one Alexandre Vallé. I had the pleasure of knowing this worthy Franco-American, before his late lamented decease, and listened to words of wisdom from his lips, couched in extremely imperfect English. Candor compels me to state that his was not an imposing, nor a wholly neat, personality, and that his description of affairs in 1862 was overloaded with laments that "Government *nevaire* pay him for ze whisky" that the troops appropriated; but he came much nearer to the truth than some more cleanly and better equipped people whom I met and questioned in that vicinity. For some occult reason he never was called by his real name in New Mexico, but always by that of "Pigeon;" and the name of "Pigeon's Ranch" has passed into local history. Scurry's advance had reached it on the morning of the 26th, and had a lively skirmish with a force of 210 cavalry and 180 infantry under Major (late Presiding Elder) Chivington, who had marched from camp the afternoon before. The late Elder belonged to the church militant. "*E poot 'is 'ead down,*" said M. Vallé to me, "*and foight loike mahd bull.*" This preliminary engagement seems to have been a drawn battle. Chivington reported a loss of 5 killed and 14 wounded. The loss of the enemy, he said, was, from their own accounts, 32 killed, 43 wounded, and 71 taken prisoners. The reports of both Sibley and Scurry gave no figures of losses.

Scurry's command, in full, was in camp some miles west of Pigeon's Ranch on the 27th, and formed in line of battle on the morning of the 28th. Slough, with his whole force, had broken camp on the afternoon of the 27th, and, the next morning, he prepared for action. It is clear that he did not know how near Scurry was. With Slough, by good fortune, was a brave and skilful New Mexican officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel

Chaves, an old companion and friend of Governor Gilpin. In Major Donaldson's report of the march from Santa Fé to Fort Union, he said: "Some volunteers also accompanied me, under Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Chaves, but all of them, except the lieutenant-colonel and some officers, deserted on the march." Chaves, however, was a host in himself; and the splendid services which he rendered the Union cause, and the "Pet Lambs" of his old friend, Governor Gilpin, ought to have earned him lasting fame. He offered to lead a force to the rear of the enemy; and Slough detached one under Chivington, consisting of about 120 regulars and 370 volunteers (nearly half his command). At 9.30 A.M., they started, and Chaves led them up a steep ascent and then along a terribly difficult path, eight miles on a trail and eight more (as Chivington put it) "without road." Then he stopped and pointing over the bluff, down which led a rough path, said laconically,

"You are *on top of dem!*"

There were the rear-guard of the enemy and their supply-train of sixty-four wagons. In command of Chivington's first battalion was that splendid officer, Captain W. H. Lewis, Fifth Infantry (who lost his life in a miserable skirmish with the Cheyennes in 1878); and with him was Captain A. B. Carey, Thirteenth Infantry (now Major and Paymaster). The commander of the other battalion was Captain Wynkoop, of the Colorado Volunteers (now an honored citizen of Santa Fé). Chivington "viewed the landscape o'er," and then took his seat on a log.

"I fear an ambush," said he. "What do you say, Captain Lewis?"

"Well, major, we came here to fight," said Lewis.

"What do you say, Captain Carey?"

"I agree with Captain Lewis."

"And you, Captain Wynkoop?"

"I agree with Captains Lewis and Carey."

Chivington hesitated no longer, but gave orders for the attack. He told Captain Lewis, who was to command, that if he saw the party ambushed, he would sound the recall; and, as they started in single file down the steep and narrow path, Lewis remarked, *sotto voce*, to Carey, that they would never hear that signal. The charge upon the guard was made at the double-quick, and was wholly successful. The 64 wagons, 200 mules, and everything in the shape of supplies, ammunition, and even medical stores, were destroyed; a gun was captured and spiked by Captain Lewis in person; and two officers and a number of men were taken prisoners. Chivington reported that "Captain Lewis had the most dangerous duty assigned him, which he performed with unfaltering heroism."

Meantime, Slough, with only about 700 men, had encountered the main body of the enemy. In his report he stated that, "having met the enemy where he was not expected, the action was defensive from its beginning to its end."

No one who has not seen Apache Cañon with his bodily eyes can conceive what this action must have been. With the exception of less than 200 regulars, the members of the command were uninstructed in the arts of war. Slough had with him, as acting assistant adjutant-general, Captain Gurden Chapin, Seventh Infantry; and with his force were two 12-pounder howitzers and two 6-pounder guns (without caissons), under Captain John F. Ritter, Fifteenth Infantry; also four 12-pounder (mountain) howitzers, under Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain Ira W. Claflin, Sixth Cavalry. These two *pro tem.* artillerymen are said by my diarist to have been "as brave men as ever wore uniform." There is no doubt that Slough's greatly reduced column of only 700 men was forced back, but M. Vallé said the men fairly raged when given the order to take position to the rear. After some five hours' fighting, a flag of truce came from Scurry. The latter described his men as "extremely exhausted;" and after burying his dead and caring for his wounded, he marched to Santa Fé. Slough, as his orders from Colonel Canby were "to protect Fort Union at all hazards and leave nothing to chance," took up a position at Bernal Springs. The gallant colonel had reason to be proud of his success in his first battle, and of the officers and men under him. His loss was 1 officer (Lieutenant Baker, Colorado Volunteers), and 28 men killed; 2 officers and 40 men wounded; 15 men taken prisoners. "The enthusiasm and patriotic bravery" of his Colorado men had, in conjunction with the valor of the regulars, nobly aided their country's cause. The skill and zeal of Chaves, and the intrepidity and energy of Lewis, Carey, Wynkoop and their men, had gained complete success for the clever and picturesque strategic movement under Chivington. The Confederate advance was checked, Fort Union was saved, and the chance of invading California had "gone glimmering down the vale of things that were."

Scurry acknowledged the loss of 4 officers and 32 men killed and 60 wounded; and Governor Connelly, of New Mexico, in a dispatch to Secretary Seward, said that the number of his killed, wounded, and missing did not fall short of 400; also that among the prisoners captured from him were three captains and eight lieutenants. When Scurry retreated to Santa Fé, he had not ten rounds of ammunition per man.

Meantime Colonel Canby, having heard of the skirmish of the 26th March, determined to leave Fort Craig, garrisoned by volunteers under

Kit Carson, and effect a junction with the troops at the north. He marched on April 1st, with 860 regulars and 350 volunteers, and on the 8th, made a demonstration on Albuquerque, in which Major Duncan, Third Cavalry, was seriously wounded. During the night of the 9th and the succeeding day he marched to San Antonio, where, on the 11th idem, he was in communication with Colonel Paul. The latter officer, on April 6th, had marched from Fort Union, in command of the troops, effected concentration at Bernal Springs and, on the 9th, proceeded toward Santa Fé. At San José a flag of truce met him, borne by Major Jackson and another officer; of whom, said Governor Connelly's report, he "disposed in a very short conference." Only a few hours later he learned that the enemy had evacuated Santa Fé and were marching hurriedly to Albuquerque, leaving all their wounded behind. On the 12th he wrote from Gallisteo to the delighted governor at Las Vegas:

"It affords me great pleasure to inform you that Santa Fé is now in our possession, and your Excellency will hazard nothing by returning to the seat of government and resuming the duties of your office whenever it may suit your convenience. . . . Your Excellency will be glad to know that the Union troops on entering Santa Fé were received with public demonstrations of joy."

On the 13th the junction was made at Tijeras. In the mean time Colonel Canby had received information that the enemy had left Albuquerque and was moving down the river. During the night of the 14th the Union forces marched thirty-six miles to Peralta. There the Confederates were found in a position which was "the strongest (except Fort Union) in New Mexico." On the 15th an engagement took place, and the bosque in front and rear of the town was occupied by the Federals. A howitzer, a train of supplies and a number of men were captured by them. There was also an artillery duel; but during the next night, while Colonel Canby was giving his tired men a brief rest, the enemy crossed the river and fled, leaving his sick and wounded behind, "without attendance, without medicines, and almost without food." Colonel Roberts, under date of April 23d, reported to Washington that they were "leaving in a state of demoralization and suffering that has few examples in war. The long line of their retreat over Jornada "(the terrible Jornada del Muerto)" and wastes of country without water . . . will . . . aggravate the ordinary sufferings of a disorganized army under defeat. The broken-down condition of all our animals, the want of cavalry, and deficiencies of all our supplies will make a successful pursuit equally impracticable."

On the 18th of May Canby, now Brigadier-General of Volunteers, was

able to report that the Confederates were scattered along the Rio Grande from Doña Ana to El Paso. Military critics, writing or talking at a safe distance, have held that all should have been taken prisoners. The fact is that Canby had no desire to capture men whom he could not feed. On the 12th of May he reported to Washington that some of his own men were reduced to a ration of twelve ounces of flour. My diarist describes the Colorado troops as in camp "living on rotten bacon and wormy crackers, surrounded by tarantulas, scorpions, centipedes, and rattlesnakes, until the scurvy nearly destroyed those who had escaped the perils of war." A "breezy" journalist, whose delightful account of these times I had the pleasure of reading, summed the situation up in the following words: "There being no grub in New Mexico in a general way, there certainly was none now, since armies had been sustained by her during the winter."

The campaign in New Mexico was rapidly approaching its end. A splendid column from California, under command of General James H. Carleton, was coming. "My men," he wrote to General Canby, "are the finest material I have ever seen." This praise will not seem too high when it is known that in the driest season in thirty years they crossed the Colorado and Gila deserts, bringing with them, under Captain J. B. Shinn and Lieutenant Franklin Harwood, Third United States Artillery, the first battery ever thus moved. General Canby sent a column to open communication with this most welcome advance, which reached the Rio Grande on July 4. On the 6th the last of the Confederates, under Colonel Steele, beat a hasty retreat, and New Mexico and Arizona knew them no more. On September 18 General Canby having been ordered to Washington, turned his command over to General Carleton and bade his men farewell. His brevet as brigadier-general in the regular army "for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Valverde," was granted only on March 13, 1865; and on April 11, 1873, he was murdered by the Modoc Indians in Oregon.

On May 4th, General Sibley wrote to Richmond, from Fort Bliss, Texas. He said, among other things, "It is proper that I should express the conviction, determined by some experience, that, except for its political geographical position, the Territory of New Mexico is not worth a quarter of the blood and treasure expended in its conquest." As a reason for not compelling his men to serve longer in that region, he said that they had "manifested a dogged, irreconcilable detestation of the country and the people." There is something delightfully *naïf* about this statement.

I cannot but think this curious and interesting campaign well worthy of record. But for the valor of the men who fought on the Union side in

New Mexico, the history of the war would have read far differently from what it does; and Governor Gilpin, living in a green old age in his pretty Denver home, may well claim that his Pet Lambs "broke the far left wing of the Rebellion." It is easy to explain why more has not been known about it. The contemporary events nearer Washington were such as to engross all attention at the time. Fort Henry was taken on February 6th, Roanoke Island on the 8th, and Donelson on the 16th. The *Monitor* encountered the *Merrimac* on March 9th, and Shiloh was fought on April 6th and 7th. Not only then, but fifteen years later, Santa Fé was to people East of the Missouri a mere geographical expression. Up to within a short time, information about the events in that region has been most difficult to obtain. I went myself to Colorado and New Mexico in 1879. I examined the scene of the battle of Apache Cañon twice, and I devoted much time to inquiries from those who took part in the campaign; even then I obtained grains of truth in bushels of trivialities and falsehoods. Canby, Roberts, Lewis, and Slough were dead, and the only living officer concerned in the campaign from whom I have been so fortunate as to obtain, verbally, valuable details, is Major A. B. Carey of the Paymaster's Department, now serving in California. Without access, therefore, to valuable official documents, I could not have ventured to tell the story in this shape; but as it is, it may form a brief quota of that stirring history which it should be the pride of a country to preserve and cherish.

A. A. Hayes

## ARMY OF THE POTOMAC UNDER HOOKER

The Army of the Potomac was in a serious condition when General Hooker assumed command on the 26th of January, 1863.

Born at Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1815, he was appointed a cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point, in 1833; was graduated and appointed second lieutenant of the first artillery on July 1, 1837; was promoted to first lieutenant in November, 1838; served against the Seminole Indians in Florida; was adjutant of the Military Academy in 1841; and adjutant of the First Artillery from September, 1841, to May, 1846. He had been distinguished in the Mexican War, served as aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General Thomas L. Hamer, who commanded the division of volunteers after Major-General William Orlando Butler was wounded at Monterey, and received the brevets of captain, major, and lieutenant-colonel "for gallant and meritorious conduct" at the battles of Monterey, the National Bridge, and Chapultepec. March 3, 1847, he was designated as assistant adjutant-general, with the brevet rank of captain, and upon promotion in his regiment, October 29, 1849, relinquished his rank in the line and was commissioned assistant adjutant-general, as of the former date. He resigned as captain and assistant adjutant-general, February 21, 1853. Such, in brief, was General Hooker's military career in "the old army." At the outbreak of the Civil War he was a resident of California. Tendering his services to the President, he was appointed brigadier-general of Volunteers, May 17, 1861.

Immediately prior to assuming command of the Army of the Potomac, Hooker had commanded the Center Grand Division. By the terms of his promotion, Major-General Sumner, commanding the Right, and Major-General Franklin, commanding the Left Grand Divisions—both his seniors in rank—were relieved from duty. Major-General Meade, commanding the Third Division—Pennsylvania Reserves—First Corps, who had greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Fredericksburg, succeeded Hooker in the Center Grand Division, Major-General Couch was appointed to the Right, and Major-General Wm. Farrar Smith to the Left Grand Division. The Grand Reserve Division, consisting of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, was commanded by Major-General Sigel.

The army was encamped on the north bank of the Rappahannock—which separated it from the Army of Northern Virginia—opposite Fredericksburg. Its position upon the Stafford Hills was considered almost im-

pregnable. Its base of supplies was Acquia Creek, on the Potomac, whence transportation was by rail, the distance between that place and Falmouth being about twelve miles. The army was disheartened. The mortality was great. Men died of diseases caused by homesickness. Not an hour of the day passed in any of the camps but that the notes of the funeral dirge were heard, as escorts of comrades followed the heroes of death to their temporary resting-places. Desertions were at the rate of two hundred a day. Parents, wives, brothers, sisters and sweethearts, were so anxious to relieve relatives and loved ones from a service that had become irksome, and in the success of which they had lost faith, that express cars were loaded with packages of citizen's clothing put up in every possible way to deceive as to contents, to aid in desertion. Even the mails were used for that purpose. The demoralization was not alone the result of defeat, but of a lack of confidence between officers and men. The President had issued his immortal Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862, and a large proportion of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, were opposed to the policy of the government.

—Of sanguine temperament, attractive appearance, commanding presence, and great personal magnetism, General Hooker had been one of the most successful corps commanders—always ready for a fight—and had earned the soubriquet of "Fighting Joe." The mere reading of the order to the troops at parade, by which he entered upon his command, had a beneficial effect. His was no easy task. He had criticised his superiors, and was aware of the enmity of Halleck, then General-in-Chief. The President had a very high opinion of him, and when McClellan was relieved had thought of appointing him to this special command; but the persistent opposition of Halleck led to the appointment of Burnside. Hooker had displayed exceptional gallantry at Williamsburg and Charles City Cross Roads, in the Peninsular campaign—at the latter place holding with his division, against superior numbers, a point, which if yielded would have resulted in irreparable disaster. At Antietam he had opened the battle and borne the brunt of the hard fighting, assaulting Stonewall Jackson's corps in its chosen position—the "cornfield," in front of the little church. In the corn the men of Jackson stood—almost as numerous as the stalks—when Hooker opened upon them with his artillery, cutting them down as corn is cut at harvest time. With the First Corps he pressed Jackson's men back, slowly but deliberately, leaving the field strewn with the horrors of war—never stopping, until he was borne, wounded, from the field. Mr. Lincoln visited Antietam immediately after the battle, and when viewing the "cornfield," where the engagement occurred, conceived a great ad-

miration for Hooker, and was impressed with the belief that he ought to be at the head of the Army of the Potomac.

On the 20th of September, 1862, McClellan wrote Hooker, from Sharpsburg: "Had you not been wounded when you were, I believe the result of the battle would have been the entire destruction of the Rebel Army—for I know, with you at its head, your corps would have kept on until it gained the main road. As a slight expression of what I think you merit, I have requested that the brigadier-general's commission (in the regular army) rendered vacant by Mansfield's death,\* may be given to you. I will this evening write a private note to the President on the subject, and am glad to assure you that so far as I can learn it is the universal feeling of the army, that you are the most deserving of it."

President Lincoln, however, was not without his doubts as to Hooker's ability to establish and maintain the discipline necessary to success at that time; and the day after his promotion wrote him the following confidential letter—made public only a few months before Hooker's death, in 1879.

"Executive Mansion, Washington, January 26, 1863.

Major-General Hooker :

General :

I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all its commanders.

I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it.

And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln."

\* Brigadier-General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, United States Army, Major-General of Volunteers, died September 18, 1862, of wounds received in the battle of Antietam, Maryland, while gallantly commanding the Twelfth Corps.

To prevent desertion, cause the return of absentees, and make the army as comfortable as possible, was Hooker's first effort. Clemency and intimidation were both used. Leave of absence and furloughs were so granted that all in the course of the winter might visit their homes, or go where they pleased, for ten or fifteen days.\* A return was to be made from each regiment, battery or detachment, showing the number of officers and men absent from duty, from any cause whatsoever.

It was found that 2,935 commissioned officers and 82,188 non-commissioned officers and privates, on the army rolls, were not present, many in hospitals, on leave, furlough, or detached duty—the majority, no doubt, deserters; although in this vast number must have been included all who had deserted from the regiments composing the army since they were severally organized. On the day Hooker took command, he sent the following despatch to the adjutant-general of the army: "It will be a great happiness to me to have Brigadier-General Stone ordered to report to me as chief of staff"—a sincere tribute to the ability and loyalty of a true soldier. This request not being approved, he selected General Daniel Butterfield.†

\* General Orders, No. 3, January 30, 1863, provided that one brigade commander, one field officer and two line officers of a regiment, and two enlisted men for every hundred on duty, might be absent, "on leave," at one time, for a period not exceeding ten days, except to residents of the following named States, when it might be given for fifteen days, viz.: Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont; Ohio, Michigan, and the States west of these last named.

† Hooker's staff officers were: Major-General Daniel Butterfield, Chief of Staff; Brigadier-General Seth Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel, A. G. Department, U. S. A., Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Dickinson, U. S. V., Assistant Adjutant-General; Brigadier-General James A. Hardie, Major A. G. Department, U. S. A., Judge Advocate-General; Brigadier-General Henry J. Hunt, Major, Fifth U. S. Artillery, Chief of Artillery; Brigadier-General M. R. Patrick, Provost Marshal General; Colonel Rufus Ingalls, Major, Quarter-master's Department, U. S. A., Chief Quarter-master; Lieutenant-Colonel F. Meyers, Captain, Quarter-master's Department, U. S. A., Deputy Chief Quarter-master; Colonel H. F. Clarke, Major, Subsistence Department, U. S. A., Chief Commissary; Major Jonathan Letterman, Surgeon, U. S. A., Medical Director; Captain Samuel T. Cushing, Subsistence Department, U. S. A., Chief Signal Officer; Captain D. W. Flagler, Ordnance Department, U. S. A., Chief Ordnance Officer; Major William H. Lawrence, Aide-de-Camp; Captain William L. Candler, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Alexander Moore, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Harry Russell, Aide-de-Camp. General Orders No. 2, January 29, 1863. To these were afterward added: Brigadier-General G. K. Warren, Captain, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Chief Topographical Engineer; Colonel Edmund Schriver, Lieutenant-Colonel, Eleventh U. S. Infantry, Inspector General; Lieutenant-Colonel N. H. Davis, Major, Inspector General's Department, U. S. A., Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant-Colonel E. R. Platt, Captain, Second U. S. Artillery, Judge Advocate-General; Major S. F. Barstow, Assistant Adjutant General; Colonel G. H. Sharpe, 120th N. Y. Volunteers, Deputy Provost Marshal General; Captain Ulric Dahlgren, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Charles E. Cadwalader, Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Acting Aide-de-Camp. General Orders No. 32, March 30, 1863.

At the time General Butterfield was designated chief-of-staff he was commanding the Fifth Corps; and General Sykes—major 14th United States Infantry—commander of the Second Division, regulars, one of the most reliable of officers, was left in command of that corps until the reorganization of the army. Under the circumstances it was thought best to send the Ninth Corps to some other field of action, and January 31, the General-in-chief wrote Hooker:

"The Ninth Army Corps, now under your command, will be sent to Fort Monroe to report to Major-General Dix. On your recommendation the Pennsylvania Reserves will be exchanged with General Heintzelman for an equal number of Pennsylvania troops."

General Heintzelman was in command of the troops in the immediate vicinity and for the defense of Washington. The nearest approach to instructions received by General Hooker were in these words: "In regard to the operations of your own army, you can best judge when and where it can move to the greatest advantage, keeping in view always the importance of covering Washington and Harper's Ferry, either directly or by so operating as to be able to punish any force of the enemy sent against them."

The Army of the Potomac was not loosed from the leading strings in which it was held by "the importance of covering Washington and Harper's Ferry," until General Grant came East with rank that enabled him to out-general the General-in-chief. Even *he* found it difficult to convince the authorities at Washington that wherever the enemy could be met and defeated, there Washington was most practically protected.

Before the departure of the Ninth Corps, Hooker telegraphed the General-in-chief: "Permit me to recommend that Wm. F. Smith be assigned by the President to command it, and that General Sedgwick be assigned to the command of the Sixth Corps. General Sedgwick is now on duty with the Ninth without assignment." He next day received in answer: "Major-General Burnside is the permanent commander of the Ninth Corps. Make such temporary changes as you may deem proper."

Accordingly the Ninth Corps was ordered to embark for Fort Monroe, February 4th, under command of General Smith—Major, Corps of Engineers, United States Army—and General Sedgwick was ordered to relieve Smith of the command of the Sixth Corps upon receipt of the order. Important changes were made in the staff departments, especially that of the inspector-general which was thoroughly reorganized and most competent officers assigned to it. The troops were kept busy at company, regimental, brigade, and division drills, picket and fatigue duty. Reviews and inspections were frequent. The sanitary condition of the camps was im-

proved, the men being encouraged to beautify and adorn their quarters. Frequent inspections of the tents in which they lived as well as the cook and mess tents were made. Company and other officers were instructed to see that the food of their commands was properly prepared. Brigade bakeries were established and good, wholesome, fresh bread issued daily. Potatoes, onions, and other vegetables were added to the ration. Tobacco, the soldiers' solace, and an occasional ration of whiskey—upon return from severe exposure on picket, fatigue duty, or when considered necessary by surgeons—was issued. The clothing—too often before of shoddy material—was carefully inspected and a better quality furnished. By these means and others, the health of the army was improved.

The organization in grand divisions was annulled by General Orders No. 6, of February 5, in which the commanding general said: "The division of the army into grand divisions impeding rather than facilitating the despatch of its current business, and the character of the service it is liable to be called upon to perform, being adverse to the movement and operations of heavy columns, it is discontinued, and the corps organization is adopted in its stead. They will be commanded as follows: First Corps, Major-General John F. Reynolds, Lieutenant-General Fourteenth United States Infantry; Second Corps, Major-Colonel D. N. Couch; Third Corps, Major-General Daniel E. Sickles; Fifth Corps, Major-General George G. Meade, Major, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; Sixth Corps, Major-General John Sedgwick, Colonel, Fourth United States Cavalry; Eleventh Corps, Major-General Franz Sigel; Twelfth Corps, Major-General Henry W. Slocum."

The Comte de Paris says, in his *History of the Civil War in America*:

"The organization of *grand divisions*, a heavy and useless machinery invented by Burnside, was abolished, and a return was quietly made to that of army corps, which, six in number, contained each from fifteen to twenty-two thousand men;"

and in a foot-note:

"General Orders No. 6, February 5, 1863, Head-quarters Army of the Potomac, gives seven. But this was caused by the withdrawal of the Ninth Corps and the addition of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. The two latter had not been included in the *grand divisions*."

When the Army of Virginia, which had been commanded by General Pope, was merged with that of the Army of the Potomac, and both were consolidated and reorganized by McClellan, the troops of the First Corps, Army of Virginia, General Sigel—with exception of the Independent Brigade under General Milroy—became the Eleventh Corps, Army of the Poto-

mac, under Sigel. The troops of the Second Corps, Army of Virginia, which had been commanded by General Banks, became the Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac. These corps composed the Reserve Division of the Army of the Potomac as commanded by Burnside.

"2. Hereafter the corps will be considered as a unit for the organization of the artillery, and no transfers of batteries will be made from one corps or division to others, except for purposes of equalization, and then only under the authority of the chief of artillery.

"3. The cavalry of the army will be consolidated into one corps under the command of Major-General George Stoneman. The changes in command to be made as early as convenient."

General Stoneman—Major Fourth United States Cavalry—was relieved from command of the Third Corps and appointed to a command for which, as Hooker believed, he was better suited. By direction of Hooker, Adams Express Company was advised, February 7, that packages for soldiers would be brought to the army only when, securely fastened to the outside of the package, was an invoice of contents, with certificate of the agent who received it, that the contents had been examined by him and were truly set forth. Packages containing citizen's clothing\* and intoxicating liquors would not be brought to the army for soldiers' use. Packages for officers to be subject to restrictions before imposed.

It is not true that enlisted men were denied many things they should have had, and officers were permitted many things they should not have had. There never was a time, when whisky could be procured by officers that a *temperate*, well-behaved, enlisted man could not obtain the written order of his officer for a bottle or canteenful, at current prices. Had free license been given—or had it not required the signature of an officer to obtain it—there would have been an end of all discipline in the army. There were occasions, during Hooker's administration, when it required much tact for either officer or man to obtain it. Brandy peaches became a popular luxury; and when they gave out, the essence of Jamaica ginger, peppermint, and even gargling oil, were sold, until it became necessary to prohibit sutlers from keeping anything of the kind in stock.

Prior to the reorganization of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, that of the Confederates of northern Virginia was superior to ours; but under the new organization a high state of efficiency and discipline was soon reached, and when the rivers and roads permitted, expeditions were

\* It was not intended to class under "citizen's clothing" anything but outer garments, which facilitated desertion. There was no objection made to the sending of under-clothing, mittens, or other little articles of personal comfort, in any manner the sender preferred.

sent to attack the enemy's pickets or outposts, and gather forage from the country in their possession, the object being to encourage and stimulate by successes, however small, a feeling of superiority over our adversaries. Both our cavalry and infantry pickets were kept wide awake from wholesome dread of the well-organized, dashing Confederate cavalry.

Colonel John S. Mosby—the Marion of the late war—a lawyer by profession, having once slept too soundly near some of the Union outposts, was captured and confined in a Northern prison for two months, until about the 1st of August, 1862 he was released.

Anyone at all familiar with Mosby's movements, knows that revenge burned within him until on the 9th of March, he realized his long-coveted opportunity to catch some Union officers of high rank. His command was there yesterday, here to-day, somewhere else to-morrow and the next day, apparently, disbanded, and the men at their homes, hard-working farmers, with strong Union sentiments. Mosby had a way, however, of getting them together in a hurry. Through some of his men, whose homes were in the vicinity of Fairfax Court-house, he had ascertained there were several regiments of Union troops encamped in the vicinity of that village, whose commanding officers, together with Colonel Percy Wyndham, a brigade commander, were living away from their commands, somewhat carelessly, in the village. One of these officers was Colonel Charles B. Stoughton, of the Fourth Vermont Infantry. He had been appointed brigadier-general, November 5, 1862, but, not having been confirmed, his appointment expired, by constitutional limitation, March 4, 1863. Selecting from his command twenty-nine of the most trusty, Mosby started from the vicinity of Aldie, in the Catoclin mountains—his favorite resort—upon this exciting expedition, Monday morning, March 9th; and riding easily, arrived in the vicinity of the encamped regiments after bed-time. The Comte de Paris tells the story so graphically in his *History of the Civil War in America*, that we quote his words: "Favored by darkness, Mosby, with twenty-nine men, slips between these camps, surprises and gags one guard, penetrates into the village, disposes of his soldiers so that they may seize the principal officers of the enemy, and goes himself to pay a visit to Colonel Stoughton, with whose quarters he was fully acquainted. He had the great pleasure of finding him asleep, and of waking him up in person.

The colonel, indignant at such familiarity, threatens to have the intruder arrested.

'Do you know Mosby?' remarks the latter.

'What! have you captured that wretch? tell me quickly,' answers the

Federal, who believes that his sleep has been interrupted by the bearer of this good news.

'Not exactly; it is Mosby himself who has captured you, and is going to carry you off.'

And this was done instantly. Wyndham and Johnson, however, were not taken, the latter having hidden himself without clothes under a stack of hay; but many other officers had been captured by surprise, like Stoughton, while Mosby, as fortunate as he was daring, succeeded in getting through the Federal lines unperceived, taking with him thirty-five prisoners." Stoughton was not re-appointed brigadier-general, and resigned as colonel, Fourth Vermont Infantry, February 2, 1864. February 10, Brigadier-General W. H. F. Lee, with his brigade of cavalry, attacked Gloucester Point, on the York River, and on the 25th, appeared opposite the Union ships in the Rappahannock, cannonading them with his light batteries, an exploit before unheard of in modern warfare. And so both armies were kept wide awake by the raids of each other's cavalry.

Our artillery was always superior to that of the Confederates—their best organization—and a very superior one it was—being the Washington Artillery of New Orleans; but our infantry, though it constantly improved in discipline and *morale*, never equaled that of the army of northern Virginia, which, under the able generalship of Robert E. Lee, attained a degree of discipline, steadiness, efficiency, *staying power*, and marching capacity, far superior to that of any other of the Confederate armies; a degree in the opinion of eminent military critics, unsurpassed in ancient or modern warfare.

March 10, the President issued a general proclamation of amnesty to all deserters who rejoined their commands before April 1, construed to protect those who reported to officers on duty out of the field, who were instructed to receive and forward such to their commands. The President relinquished his right to review proceedings of courts-martial to army commanders. Deserters were arrested, sent to the army, speedily tried, condemned and shot. It required but few executions to produce a most salutary effect.

By circular of March 21, 1863, Hooker designated distinctive badges to be worn by each corps. That of the First Corps was the lozenge; of the Second, the trefoil or clover-leaf; of the Third, the diamond; of the Fifth, the Maltese cross; of the Sixth, the Greek cross; of the Eleventh, the crescent; of the Twelfth, the five-pointed star. For the first division of each corps they were of red cloth; the second, of white, and the third, of blue. They were worn upon the top of the cap or left side of the hat;

but soon many officers and men, proud of their organizations, were wearing handsome metal badges on their breasts; evidencing that a prospective cross of "the Legion of Honor," would have been an incentive to even the republican soldier of America. The head-quarters of the army had its distinctive flag. The head-quarters of army corps was a blue swallow-tail with the badge of the corps in center of the field. The head-quarters flag of the divisions of each corps was nearly square, for the First, of white, with red badge in the center; for the Second, of blue, with white badge in the center; for the Third, of white, with blue badge in the center. The flags of brigade head-quarters were triangular in shape, and made of white bunting; that of the First Brigade having the red corps badge in the center; that of the Second Brigade had a blue stripe six inches wide next the lance, and blue corps badge in centre; that of the Third Brigade had a blue border four and one-half inches wide around the flag and the corps badge in blue, in the center. So popular was this measure that it soon extended to the entire army of the United States. It made visible at a glance to which corps, division or brigade any organization or man belonged. It created an *esprit de corps* that could not otherwise have been attained.

General Sigel, commanding the Eleventh Corps, having taken an unlimited leave of absence in March, 1863, was replaced April 2, by General Oliver O. Howard. A telegram from Hooker to the Secretary of War, March 20, reads thus: "Has the resignation of Major-General Sigel been accepted, or is that officer to be removed from command of the Eleventh Corps? I desire to ascertain in order that, if so, Major-General Howard, the highest in rank in this army for advancement to corps commander, may be assigned to it.

General Howard is an officer of uncommon merit, is favorably known to this army, and is fully identified with its history. It is highly important that the commander of the Eleventh Corps should be named and that he should be on duty with it."

The change of commanders caused considerable dissatisfaction among the numerous Germans in the corps, who considered it a blow at their nationality. The difference in their enthusiasm was quite perceptible. It is true the great majority of the men of the Eleventh Corps were Germans, or spoke that language exclusively, although there were large numbers of Americans in it. Early in April desertions had nearly ceased and the Army of the Potomac was in better condition than ever before—inspired with the brightest anticipations. It had confidence in itself and its commander. The sentiment of the rank and file was devotion to the cause in which it desired to be led against the enemy, believing the days of disaster

and defeat had passed and that its banners would certainly lead to victory.

In its condition and prospects the President was deeply interested and spent a number of days with Hooker and in wandering through the camps alone. Wherever he went he created the wildest enthusiasm, always having a hearty shake of the hand and a warm "God bless you!" for the lowest in rank as well as the highest. On Monday, April 6, he reviewed General Stoneman's cavalry, accompanied by a brilliant assemblage of foreign ministers, their military attachés, and ladies and gentlemen from Washington. The passing of over thirteen thousand finely mounted, well equipped horsemen was a magnificent sight—one that has seldom, if before, been seen in this country. Tuesday was spent inspecting the camps of the army as far as possible.

I remember well the President's visit to our camp—that of the First Brigade, Second Division, Fifth Corps—the troops, to whom he made a charming little speech, forming three sides of a square to receive him. The "Regulars," being the *orphans* of the army, beyond the pale of "sanitary commission" and salvation—not even allowed chaplains—highly appreciated his visit and attentions. On Wednesday, the party of distinguished visitors reviewed four corps of infantry, including the Fifth, upon the plains near Falmouth, and in view of the enemy who were out in full force to witness it; not knowing what it augured.

The men appeared at their best, in dress, equipment, and discipline. It was one of the most perfect reviews ever witnessed in the Army of the Potomac. The marching was magnificent, the music grand. The Fifth Corps was under arms from 8 A.M. until 4 P.M.

On Thursday, April 9, the other three corps of infantry were reviewed; the artillery was reviewed with the infantry and cavalry with equally happy results, and President Lincoln returned to Washington, delighted with the great and wonderful improvement in the *morale* of the army; feeling that he had, at last, the right man in the right place. General Hooker had the *right* to be proud of the result of his efforts. In a little over two months he had brought the Army of the Potomac into discipline and efficiency from the very depths of demoralization, despondency, and despair.

Edw Howard Mills.

## THE OUTLOOK FOR 1886

[HISTORICAL JOTTINGS]

We are no longer appalled with gloomy forebodings in relation to the financial future of our country. Spring is opening upon us with a train of agreeable prospects;—not rainbow hues, merely, illusive and evanescent, but rifts of actual, tranquil light, which absorb slowly but surely the clouds of mist, and promise rest and gladness to the whole land. We have safely passed the season of election wrangles, and are upon the verge of an agreeable lull in the political world. No vital issues are at stake unless we except that of the silver dollar. Let us welcome the serenity of the situation and turn our attention to coming events. Let us expend our energies in legitimate channels of industry. The farmer may once more count upon income from soil well tilled. The mechanic may hope to find a ready market for his wares. The merchant may look for fresh activity in every branch of trade. The capitalist may bring forth his hoarded and hidden treasures without fear, and distribute them for a revenue and a blessing. The scholar may indulge in books, and find in the study of the past an incentive for new enterprises, and the wisdom to guide in their successful conduct. The statesman may retire from the strife of parties and concentrate his powers upon the increase of our foreign commerce, the revival of manufacturing interests, the development of Western territories, the improvement of municipal governments, more thorough methods of education, the progress of art and of science, the growth of a national literature, and many another useful theme. We have no longer any excuse for standing about idle. Prosperity for the whole country is in full view, and may easily be reached by honest, intelligent, straightforward and practical industry. Every individual who has anything to do should give attention to the doing of it, and the doing of it well. Those who have nothing to do should immediately find some work within their capabilities, and let their faculties become absorbed in its details and reap their reward in its results. Economy has long been the text for much public and private eloquence, and it deserves the highest consideration. But now even economy should be made subservient to industry. If radical changes are to appear in the machinery of finance, they will be accelerated by heroic effort. The age of miracles has long since passed. Unused and rusty wheels will never start without extraneous forces, and, once in motion, they will not run without oil and human oversight. No matter how promising the outlook, it is individual exertion that is to save the life and preserve the health of the business world. Each one has a part to perform, and then history will repeat itself. We pin our faith to the abiding good sense of the American people, and expect even far better times in the near future than the present abundant signs of promise indicate.

## MINOR TOPICS

### BURNSIDE RELIEVED

LETTER FROM GENERAL WM. FARRAR SMITH.

*Editor Magazine of American History :*

The paper in your magazine for January entitled "From Burnside to Hooker," makes mention of my name in such connection that I request you if possible to find space in your columns for this short letter from me, with a brief correspondence between General Burnside and myself which alludes to some matters of interest other than personal.

Referring to the visit of Generals Newton and Cochrane to Washington on the 3d of December, 1862, I cannot now positively state that I did or did not know the purport of their visit.

I do know, however, that after the battle of Fredericksburg there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with Burnside which was openly expressed. I thought at the time, and still think, it was fanned and industriously disseminated from the Center Grand Division of the Army of the Potomac, and I think the letter of President Lincoln to General Hooker, dated January 26, 1863, points to that fact in no ambiguous terms.

So far as my personal influence and conversation went, they were on the side of Burnside. Not that I did not properly estimate the lamentable deficiencies and vacillating character of General Burnside, but that I knew that if Burnside were relieved Hooker would supersede him. Hooker I knew would start out "to make a spoon," and I had no doubt would end by "spoiling a horn," and I was anxious that the Army of the Potomac should not be the "spoiled horn." The short and inglorious campaign of Chancellorsville justified my fears. During the Mud Campaign I gave to General Burnside my best energies, deeming zealous co-operation the only possible way by which to win success, or if not that, to prevent the destruction of the army. Before the movement began I called the general officers of the 6th Corps together and said to them that the only question before us was that of prompt and zealous obedience to orders emanating from proper authority, and that I should expect the 6th Corps to preserve its high reputation in the coming campaign, which would take the best efforts of all its members.

After the battle of Fredericksburg I went on one occasion to General Burnside with some suggestion. The general happened to be in one of his suspicious moods, and said that every one who came to him with advice had some personal interest

to subserve, and that therefore every night and after everything was quiet at headquarters he sent for Robert and had a talk with him, feeling sure that then he was talking with one who had only his interests at heart. Robert was an old, devoted colored servant, who had been with Burnside for years, and then presided over the kitchen. I said nothing, but the thought came to me that perhaps Robert had assisted at the *pot pourri* served up to the army on the 13th of December.

From that time I contented myself with my own duties and made no suggestions.

After the orders for the move of the 20th of January had been published, General Franklin informed me that my command would lead the Left Grand Division in crossing the river. I at once went to examine the position selected for the crossing. To my dismay, I found that the place was one which General Lee might well have selected for himself, but had precisely the reverse characteristics from those we required. I made some forcible remarks to Colonel Comstock (still an officer of engineers and deservedly of high reputation), and was informed by him that General Burnside had himself selected the position and had silenced all criticism as to its fitness. Robert again came to my mind, but I spoke no further word on the subject. A short time before the pontoons were to be taken to the river bank General Burnside came to me and said that he was nearly crazy from anxiety and want of sleep, and I made him go into my tent and lie down, and I sat at the door of the tent to insure that he should not be disturbed. After some time he came out and expressed himself as having been refreshed by his nap. While he was resting the rain began to fall and I felt devoutly thankful, for I knew the campaign was ended. I do not think Burnside ever intended to cross without artillery and a bridge, for I have not the slightest recollection of any such intention, nor have I of any insubordination among the generals on that account. At any rate, no such exhibition took place in the Left Grand Division.

On the 23d of January, as General Franklin and myself were passing by General Burnside's headquarters, on our way to our old camps, the general sent out and asked us to stop and lunch with him. I recollect he had a boned turkey, which some ardent admirer had sent to him from Rhode Island, which was particularly acceptable to General Franklin and myself, who had been for three days on very short commons. During the luncheon Burnside was fitful in his moods—at times gay and talkative, and relapsing into silence and apparent absent-mindedness. Waking up from one of these latter, he said: "You will presently hear of something that will astonish you all!" and this was repeated by him once or twice. Of course we did not ask what it was, but in a few days we found that General Order No. 8 had at that time been signed and was on its way to Washington for confirmation by the President, and in that order General Franklin and myself figured in no pleasant way.

I tried for over two years to get a letter from General Burnside stating his reasons for including me in that order. After the war had closed, I met him in Cincinnati, and the following correspondence was the result.

No. 1.—*Smith to Burnside.*"Burnet House June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1865.

General Smith has been waiting a long time on General Burnside for a promised explanation as to the cause of General Smith's name appearing in Gen<sup>l</sup> Order No 8 of '63. General Smith trusts that he is not mistaken in supposing that General Burnside has the leisure now which he was unable to find two years since in this very City.

P S General Smith trusts that this note will meet with prompt attention."

No. 2.—*Burnside to Smith.*Cin. June 23<sup>rd</sup> '65

"Maj Gen<sup>l</sup> W F Smith  
Gen<sup>l</sup>

Your note of this morning is at hand. In drafting the order to which you refer I relieved from duty with the A P some officers who I believed were incapable of giving that earnest support to an overland Campaign to Richmond which was so necessary to success. I believed that this incapacity resulted from the fact that they had no faith in the success of such a campaign, and had so expressed themselves openly to officers and formally to the Authorities at Washington. I deemed it proper to class you under that head and availed myself of the power then vested in me to order you to report to Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> for orders.

It may be proper to state that upon reflection and consultation I decided to take your name from the list, as I believed that notwithstanding your committal against the Campaign you would give your coöperation, and had I been allowed to issue Gen<sup>l</sup> Order No 8 your name would not have appeared in it. When you first wrote to me upon this subject I prepared an answer as promised in which I referred to other subjects. For what I conceived to be good reasons I did not send the letter. Your declaration in your first letter that you did not regard me as a friend probably had some influence in keeping me silent; and this letter is only written with a view to doing you the justice which I hope I am willing to do all men, and is in no sense an answer to the demandatory characteristic of your letter.

I bear you no malice and heartily wish you and yours health, happiness and prosperity but cannot see that my action was wrong however much I may regret having wounded the feelings of one who was valued by me as a friend.

Very truly, &c

A E Burnside."

No. 3.—*Smith to Burnside.*"Burnet House Cin June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1865.

General

Your note has been received and I am obliged to you for the explicit charge you make against me in it viz: of being incapable of giving an earnest support to

an overland Campaign to Richmond. You class me under the head of officers who 'had so expressed themselves openly to officers and personally to the Authorities at Washington' and in that you are very gravely in error for I never directly or indirectly expressed to any of the Authorities in Washington my ideas about the plan of 'Campaign to Richmond' save in one letter to the President which you saw and from which I did not understand you to dissent. I do not wish to deny the power you exercised of relieving officers of any rank whatever whom you might have good reasons to deem as standing in the way of your success, but I wish to show you that in my case you did not exercise or attempt to exercise that power for good reasons or in a frank way. You and I had long been intimate friends and I had a right to expect perfect candor.

After the battle of Fredericksburg I was somewhat alone in the efforts made in your defense and I had plenty of occasions to labor in your behalf. I am not wrong I think in saying that during this time the old friendly and confidential relations were maintained between us after that battle. No thought ever occurred to me but to give you the best support in my power whatever might be your plan of Campaign. In your second effort to cross the Rappahannock (I think I am not wrong in saying) my command (the 6<sup>th</sup> Corps) was the only portion of your entire army that was in its designated place at the appointed time. Did that look like anything else than a disposition to do my best as a soldier, or did it show me incapable of giving you an earnest support. When you were about to give up that effort as fruitless you came to my tent partook of my hospitality and slept upon my bed while I stood sentinel at the door to keep you from being disturbed. If you had then any fault to find with me was it not due to me to tell me of it and to say if necessary that you must relieve me from command; and was it proper to hold that idea and say nothing to me of it and still accept my friendly services?

On my return to my old camp, two days after, I stopped at your Head Quarters and was then feasted by you and still no lisp of want of confidence or any other ground of complaint against me and yet at that very time order No 8 was on its way to Washington stabbing me without your saying so much as "*en garde*."

I parted from you then with no other feeling in my heart towards you than had been there for nearly twenty years and no suspicion of any change in yours and soon after I heard that you had deliberately attempted to disgrace me in the eyes of the Army and in the country. Could you expect that I would after that consider you as a friend, and did I not have a perfect right to know on what pretense you put my name in that order? I write at this time not that you could now under any circumstances right the wrong you did me, but that I think it is due to myself to put this plain statement before you after the reception of your note.


Taking these things into consideration it is rather surprising that you do not bear me malice. I do not know what you mean by the 'demandatory characteristic' of my letter but I can assure you that I have never for one moment aban-

doned the idea of getting from you some explanation of your conduct and of setting it before you in its true light.

This happens to be the first time we have met since on an equal footing."

W<sup>m</sup> F Smith

I commend to those who desire to get a clear insight into General Burnside's character, without much labor, a careful reading of his letter.



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ANTHONY WAYNE AT GREEN SPRING, 1781

HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION

The following is a letter addressed by General Wayne to Governor Reed and General Irvine, giving an account of the action at Green Spring :

Chicohominy Church 8 miles from Jamestown, 8th July, 1781.

"After a variety of marches and countermarches, frequently offering battle to Lord Cornwallis upon military terms, which he cautiously declined, the Marquis Lafayette received intelligence on the 5th that the enemy had marched from Williamsburg to Jamestown, and were preparing to throw their baggage and troops over that river. This induced the General to make a forward move to this place with the Continental troops, including Major Macpherson's Legion, together with a few Voluntary dragoons under Colonel Mercer and Captain Hill; the vicinity of which to the enemy would put it into his power to strike their rear, should the passage of the James be their principle. On the morning of the 6th, several corroborating advices arrived, removing every doubt upon that head, and nothing but a forced march with the lightest and most advanced part of the troops would probably arrive in time to effect their rear. This induced the Marquis to order the advanced guard, Major Macpherson's, Colonel Mercer's, and Captain Hill's corps, 150 riflemen, with Colonel Stewart's battalion of Pennsylvanians, amounting in the whole to about five hundred men, dragoons and artillery included, to make a forward move under my conduct and endeavor to come up with the enemy.

"Upon our arrival at the Green Spring Farm, a variety of contradictory intelligence rendered it prudent to reconnoitre them with a military eye. Their vast superiority in horse, also, made it expedient to advance the whole of our little corps to drive in their guards and keep their cavalry in check. About this period the Marquis arrived in person, and adopted the manœuvre which, being effected, it was soon discovered that a very considerable part of their army yet remained on this side of the river, ready formed for action, in front of their encampment. This induced the General to send for the remainder of the Continentals, distant five or

six miles in our rear. At 2 o'clock, P.M., a large smoke was raised by the enemy, probably as a signal to their parties to return to camp, and for all such as had crossed the river to repossess it.—At three o'clock, the riflemen commenced and kept up a galling fire upon the enemy, which continued until five in the afternoon, when the British began to move forward in columns; upon which Major Galvan, at the head of the advanced guard, attacked them, and, after a spirited though unequal contest, retired upon our left. A detachment of the Light Infantry under Major Willis having arrived also, commenced a severe fire, but were obliged to fall back, which the enemy observing, and beginning to turn our flanks, a manœuvre in which, had they persevered, they must inevitably have penetrated between this corps and the other part of the army; but being joined at this crisis by Colonel Harmar and Major Edwards, with part of the Second and Third Pennsylvania regiments under Colonel Humpton, with one field piece, *it was determined among a choice of difficulties to advance and charge them*, although numbering more than five times our force [as did the intrepid De Kalb at Camden, 1780.] This was done with so much spirit as to produce the desired effect, *i. e.*, checking them in their advance, and diverting them from their *first* manœuvre. But being enveloped by numbers, many brave and worthy officers and soldiers killed or wounded, we found expedient to fall back one half mile to *Green Spring Farm*. Two of our field pieces which were necessarily introduced under Captain Duffee, to keep up the idea of our being in force, were served with equal spirit and effect, until disabled by having many of the men with Captain Crosby wounded, and all the horses killed, at last fell into their hands; the wagons and ammunition were saved. The enemy, sore from the contest, and finding us supported at that place by the remainder of the Light Infantry, were content with barely keeping the field, although opposed but by a handful of men compared with theirs, and which, from the numbers of the enemy and the nature of the ground, were obliged to act in a detached manner, except that part of the Pennsylvania Line that had time to arrive, whose numbers did not exceed five hundred. From the mutual emulation in the officers and men of each corps, I am confident, that had the army been in force, victory would have inclined to our arms. However, every circumstance considered, our small reconnoitring party of horse and foot, who had the hardiness to engage Lord Cornwallis at the head of the whole British army, with the advantage of a powerful cavalry, on their own ground, and in their own camp, are more to be envied than pitied on this occasion, and I trust that, in an equal contest, we shall produce a conviction to the world that we deserve success. Inclosed is a return of the killed, wounded, and missing. Our field officers were generally dismounted, by having their horses either killed or wounded under them. I will not attempt to discriminate between, or pass an eulogium upon, the conduct of any corps, of officers or men. I shall only say, if they have a fault, it is an excess of bravery—which, if a crime, it is of a nature the least to be reprehended in a soldier. I have the honor to be, with much esteem,

A. Wayne."

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM WASHINGTON, MRS. WASHINGTON, PICKERING, FAIRFAX, AND  
PATRICK HENRY

*Communicated by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.*

*Washington to Charles Lee, Esq., Alexandria.*

Mount Vernon Sept 20th 1790

Dear Sir ; I have duly received your letter of the 12th

About Six hundred dollars may supply my wants between this and my arrival in Philadelphia—at present I have no immediate call.

Mrs Washington and myself during our stay at this place will at all times be glad to see Mrs Lee and yourself, and other friends and acquaintances without ceremony,

I am dear Sir

Your most Obedt Hble Servt

Geo Washington

War Office August 17 1798,

Some shirts and shoes having arrived from Virginia for the use of ye troops of that state, as we understood, and information having been received that multitudes of soldiers were greatly distressed for want of those articles upon the application of the Clothier General concerning them Mr Peters and I advised him to send them to camp, to be issued to the Virginia troops only ; & I recollect my giving this reason for my opinion,—That if the Virginia troops were provided for there would be a greater number of the other furnished out of ye common stock,

Tim Pickering.

Dear Sir ;

I have wrote by Coll George Mason to Mr Anthony to pay to Mr Bland on your account the sum of £36. 10s. 6d he will deliver the Letter himself ; when you write to Mr Bland you may acquaint him thereof. the other incident charge—when I have the pleasure of seeing you I will myself discharge ;

Your Friends are here in good Health, we are drinking your & Mrs Lee's Health.

I remain

Yours

Fairfax.

We have begun Haying

To Charles Lee Esqr.

Council Chamber Feby 6th 1786.

Sir, The Act of the last Session of Assembly for better securing the Revenues of Customs being framed for the Express Purpose of Detecting the many frauds which have of late been practiced to the Prejudice of the state, and Directing the Appointment of Searchers, as well as the Equipment of Vessells to prevent the like frauds in the future, I am to request you to give me full information of the manner in which the Business of entering Cargoes and Accounting for Duties is now conducted. In Particular I wish to know in what manner the Value of Goods is fixed? by whom and at what time? In what Particular does it appear the Laws have been most Defective and what Circumstance has been the most Productive of the abuse mentioned in the Law. From your acquaintance with the subject it is Probably in your power to Suggest some method to prevent the Illicit practices Complaind of. If any such Occur I shall be Obliged to you to Suggest it to me as soon as Possible.

I am

Sir

Yr

Very Obt Servt

P Henry.

Mount Vernon August the 7th 1784

My Dear Fanny,

Tho' I have never been alone since you left this yet I can say but I have missed your company very much The general is still determined to set out the first of next month over the mountains.

I have not heard anything from my Brother wheather he will be up before the General goes or not. I expect to come to see him sometime in September. I shall not fix the time until I hear from you or him.

Mr Stuart is getting better. your stays and other things came from annapolis the sunday after you left this. I have payed Mrs Charles Stuart the money she payed the mantu maker £3.2.6. I will keep or bring them down as you think you may want them I think miss Ramsay was married before you left this. we have nothing new that I hear off. my little nelly is getting well and Tut is the same claver boy you left him—he sometimes says why dont you send for cousin—you know he never makes himself unhappy about absent friends.

Remember me to all Friends with you, the General had a letter from your pappa by the last post that never mentioned you or any other person—the letter was dated at richmond I should have been glad to have heard where you was.

If you should see my Brother remember me to him and Family my love to your Brothers. my compliments to your pappa in which the General joins me.

I am my dear Fanny

your most affectionate

Martha Washington

## NOTES

COLLEGE-BRED PRESIDENTS—The education of our Presidents is an interesting study. Twelve of the twenty-one before President Cleveland were college graduates, and one of these took a post-graduate course. Williams and Mary College furnished three Presidents, although only two graduated. Thomas Jefferson, at seventeen, entered the Junior class; he was considered very wild during the first year, but as a Senior he became a faithful student. John Tyler, Williams and Mary, 1807, delivered at Commencement a very able oration, on "Female Education." James Monroe entered Freshman, at Williams and Mary when sixteen, but left to join the army after the Declaration of Independence.

Harvard graduated two Presidents: John Adams, in 1755, and John Quincy Adams, who attended the University of Leyden, and, in 1788, entered the Junior class. He was graduated with second honors and delivered an oration on "The Importance of Public Faith to the Well-being of a Community." Princeton sent forth James Madison, who was a very faithful student and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1771. He then took a post graduate course under Dr. Witherspoon. James K. Polk was graduated from the University of North Carolina, with second honors, in 1818, having entered as a Sophomore. Franklin Pierce was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1824. James Buchanan, from Dickinson College (Pennsylvania), in 1809. Ulysses S. Grant, from West Point in 1843, ranking twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. Rutherford B. Hayes was the valedictorian at Kenyon College

(Ohio), in 1842. James A. Garfield graduated at Williams, in 1856, winning the metaphysical honor; and Chester A. Arthur, from Union College, in 1848.

G. M. PAVEY

DR. DANIEL G. BRINTON, of Philadelphia, has been announced as laureate of the *Société Américaine de France*, for 1885, and has been awarded the medal of the society, for his works on the Aboriginal languages of America.

CANADIAN ROADS IN 1825—In the recently published work of Canniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada, Fifty Years Ago*, we read as follows: "In 1825, William L. Mackenzie described the road between York and Kingston, as among the worst that human foot ever trod, and down to the latest day before the railroad era, the travelers in the Canadian stage-coach were lucky, if, when a hill had to be ascended, or a bad spot passed, they had not to alight and trudge ankle-deep through the mud. The rate at which it was possible to travel in stage-coaches depended on the elements. In spring, when the roads were water-choked and rut-gullied, the rate might be reduced to two miles an hour for several miles on the worst sections. The coaches were liable to be imbedded in the mud, and the passengers had to dismount and assist in prying them out by means of rails obtained from the fences."

SAMUEL MEREDITH was born in the year 1741. He was a major in General Cadwalader's Philadelphia battalion, which assisted General Washington in 1776-77, at Trenton and Princeton;

and after the march to Morristown in 1777 was commissioned a brigadier-general. Gilbert Stuart executed a miniature of Washington for him after the Revolution, in 1795, which was for a long time in possession of the family, and is mentioned in Stuart's biography. Samuel Meredith was also a member of the Continental Congress and the Colonial Legislature of Pennsylvania. He held for a short time the office of Surveyor of the port of Philadelphia. In 1789, Washington appointed him first Treasurer of the United States. Thomas Jefferson wrote Mr. Meredith a letter of regret and recommendation, upon his resignation of the office of Treasurer, in 1801, after twelve years of active service, during a most important and critical period of national history.

Reese Meredith, the father of Samuel, was an Englishman by birth, like Robert Morris and many other American citizens of that day. His silver service was marked with the crest of the Merediths, an old Welsh family of ancient lineage. It was a lion rampant collared and chained. The family in Ireland, called Meredyth, and Lord Athlumney, have the same crest at the present time. The name, I believe, was originally Meredydd. They were related to the Llewellyns of Wales. Others, as Gen. Meredith Read, trace the line back to a very remote origin. Mr. Meredith was president of

the Welsh Society for the Promotion of Emigration to America. He has been described as a gentleman of elegant appearance and military bearing, indicative of wealth and culture. George Clymer, his brother-in-law, was largely associated with him in business enterprises. They undertook, in the early part of this century to engross, or purchase for speculation, immense tracts of land in Pennsylvania and other States. Belmont was laid out as the manor tract of the Merediths, in Wayne County, Pennsylvania. This same rage for land speculation ruined Robert Morris; and Samuel Meredith, if not ruined, was greatly disappointed in his plans. The property, if successfully managed, would have yielded a most noble heritage to his descendants. Even in 1800 the estate was valued at over \$150,000. But later investments turned out badly. In closing, it is sufficient to say that the subject of this sketch died at his country seat, Belmont, after a painful illness, in February, 1817. The very tract of land in which he and his wife lie buried has passed from possession of the family. Two moldy tombstones barely mark the spot of interment, and time ere long must obliterate every vestige even of these. Thomas Meredith, the only son of the first Treasurer, was a man of splendid abilities.

T. M. M.

NEW YORK, December 25, 1885.

## QUERIES

DEATH OF WASHINGTON—Wanted—The titles and collations of any funeral sermons, orations, music, or broadsides relating to the death of Washington, not included in Hough's List. P. L. F.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

NEGRO SOLDIERS—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Were there any negroes enlisted as soldiers in the Confederate Army during the Civil War?

"NATCHZE"

BATTLE OF CULLODEN—Can you or any of your readers inform me when news of the Battle of Culloden (which was fought April 11, 1746, O. S.) reached this country, by what vessel, and at what port?

August 14, 1746, was observed here "as a day of general thanksgiving for the glorious and happy victory near Culloden."

S. P. M.

NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON, THE SIGNER—Can any of your readers give me answers to the following queries concerning the above? Where dates are asked for *full dates* are required, as I know the *year* in each case:

I. Dates of entry at Yale College, Connecticut, and dates when graduated of Philip, and of his brothers Peter, Van Brugh, John, and William respectively? Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston* only gives the years when graduated, except in the case of William, when he also gives the date of entry as 1737.

II. Date of election as Alderman of the City of New York?

III. Date of election or elections to the New York House of Assembly?

IV. Date when appointed Speaker?

Also any particulars concerning his eldest son Philip P. Livingston, who is said by Holgate to have removed to Jamaica, W. I., and his wife Sarah Johnston? I am particularly anxious to find out dates of birth, marriage, and death of above couple; also date of husband's settlement in Jamaica, W. I.? Had Philip, the Signer, any other children besides those mentioned by Holgate?

E. BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON,

22 Great Street: Helens,

London, E. C., England.

THE answer to the II., III. and IVth of the above queries is as follows: Livingston was elected Alderman of the City of New York in September, 1754, and held the office by successive re-elections until 1763. He was first elected to the New York Assembly in January, 1759. He was appointed Speaker at its last session in 1769.

EDITOR

MILITARY BANDS—Were there any military bands in the American or British Armies during the Revolution other than fife and drum corps?

"BLACK WATCH"

ALTOWAN, or Incidents of Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains—Who was the writer? The work was edited in 1846 by J. Watson Webb. The author was the second son of one of the most ancient families in Great Britain, whose paternal castle, dating from 1604, seems to have been near "Birnam Wood," but his name was withheld by Webb. In 1832 this nobleman went up the Missouri with the great St. Louis fur-trader, Ashley, to the Yellowstone. Parting there with Ashley, he continued his course to the Pacific escorted by a small band of hired *voyageurs*. Nor did he return to St. Louis till after an absence of three and a half years. Some time afterwards he revisited the great West, where he made many sketches from which paintings were executed by our countryman Miller. Who wrote *Altowan*?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

GOWNS AND WIGS—Did the judges in New York ever wear gowns and wigs either in colonial times or since?

OSGOODE HALL

THE DONGAN FAMILY—Where can I find a complete genealogy of the Dongan Family, of which Thomas Dongan, the New York Governor, was a member?

MOBILE

GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAR, an aide of Washington and colonel of his dragoons in the War of Independence; I

see he has a *tablet* set apart to his memory by the Catholic Historical Society, in the Centennial Grounds of Philadelphia (in the "Temperance Fountain," I think they call it), but I have no data of his biography except a few "*items*," scattering and incomplete. What is known of this noble American soldier?

S. M. BIRD

GALVESTON, TEXAS.

## REPLIES

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER IN DUTCH [xv. 94.]—I have read with much interest the article by B., in "Notes," in January number of the Magazine. There is no reason for supposing that the Dutch translation of the Book of Common Prayer was used in any congregation outside of the "Chapel in St. James." The edition which B describes is rare, and Mr. Gulian Verplank, in writing of it to John Romeyn Brodhead, the historian, speaks of the copy secured for the New York State Library as "a great curiosity." In the Library of the Van Cortlandt Manor House is a copy of an older edition, also bearing the *Imprimatur* of the Bishop of London. It is entirely in the Dutch language, with the exception of the "Approbation" and the Preface, and was printed in "London by Jan Hendrik Schuller, 1704." In the edition of 1711, of which B. writes, it will be noticed that the Bishop *reiterates* his approbation. Mr. Brodhead calls the first edition "an unique copy of this priceless gem." A notice of this book may be found in "Secretan's "Life of

John Nelson," the devout author of "The Fasts of the Church of England." C.

"WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN" [xv. 71.]—Mr. Chapman makes the following statement: "Vanbraam seems to have thrown in his lot with the French, and did not afterwards return to Virginia." I am sure Mr. Chapman will be glad to have this corrected, and to know that Washington did not suspect him of disloyalty, as will appear from the following note of R. A. Brock, Esq., the able editor of the *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. I., p. 51: "He [Van Braam] was retained in captivity until the surrender of Montreal, in September, 1760, when he returned to Virginia. His services were recognized in the allotment by George Washington as Commissioner of Virginia, of 9,000 acres of land in 1771; and July 14, 1777, he was made Major of the 30th Battalion of the 60th Foot, or Royal Americans, then stationed in the West Indies."

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, Dec. 26, 1885.

## SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At its annual meeting, held on Tuesday evening, January 5, 1886, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year: Benjamin H. Field, president; Hamilton Fish, first vice-president; John A. Weekes, second vice-president; William M. Evarts, foreign corresponding secretary; Edward F. De Lancey, domestic corresponding secretary; Andrew Warner, recording secretary; Robert Schell, treasurer; Jacob B. Moore, librarian.

The annual reports were read, and the Executive Committee announced the publication of volume xiii. of the collections of the Society. The Executive Committee further announced to the Society and the citizens of New York, who are interested in the Society's welfare, that a generous friend had deposited with the Central Trust Company the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of a site and the erection of a much-needed building, suitable for the purposes of the institution—subject to the condition that the further sum of three hundred thousand dollars should be secured therefor within two years from November 30 1885.

This Society is without debts or encumbrance, without mortgages on its buildings or collections, and with a balance in the treasury. It was founded some fourscore years ago, by public-spirited men, and the number, character, and value of its accumulated collections have secured for it an influence, second to that of no other similar institution in the country. Among scholars, the library enjoys the highest character, and

while the museum will bear a favorable comparison with those of Europe, where its excellence is well known, the magnitude, historical importance, and great artistic merit of the gallery of art distinguish it as the largest and most valuable of the permanent collections yet exhibited on this continent.

The Committee believe that the notably liberal as well as successful citizens of the metropolis, will emphasize by their substantial aid their approval of the Society's purpose of providing in its new edifice a permanent home of art and learning, which will be an influential agent for the instruction and enjoyment of the public, a favorite resort for the cultivated and refined, and an ornament and honor to the city of New York.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on the evening of November 17, 1885. Hon. E. B. Washburne presided. The librarian, Albert D. Hager, submitted his annual report showing an accession of 2,709 bound books and 4,532 unbound books for the year, which, added to former accessions, make a total 12,024 bound books and 35,388 pamphlets. Of these 1,308 books were purchased with the income from the "Lucretia Pond Fund." The librarian also reported that during the year he had had 795 volumes bound at an expense of \$760.15, of which 314 were newspaper files, and a large percentage of the remainder were publications of literary, scientific, and sister societies.

From the treasurer's report it was shown that the entire expenditures for

the year, including salaries, bills for binding books, taxes, etc., were \$1,869.86. The balance in the treasury was \$725.30.

Hon. Thomas Drummond, in behalf of the family of the late Isaac N. Arnold, presented an oil portrait of Mr. Arnold, late president of the Society, which President Washburne accepted with appropriate remarks.

Mr. E. G. Mason, for the Executive Committee, made report of the two trust funds of the late Jonathan Burr and Miss Lucretia Pond. The former, amounting to \$2,000, is safely invested, and there is an income of \$120 in the treasury, which will be used to defray the expense of the Society's publication. The Lucretia Pond fund is also safely invested, and at the commencement of the fiscal year there were \$971.96 on hand. Amount since received, \$810, making \$1,781.96. Of this amount \$1,400.53 have been expended for books during the year.

Hon. A. H. Burley, one of the trustees of the "Gilpin Fund," made report, showing that the total amount of that fund was \$71,279.67. An election of officers for the ensuing year was held, and the following persons were elected: Hon. E. B. Washburne, president; Edward G. Mason, first vice-president; A. C. McClurg, second vice-president; Henry H. Nash, treasurer; Albert D. Hager, secretary and librarian; Mark Skinner and D. K. Pearsons, members of the Executive Committee, to serve till 1889.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. The quarterly meeting of this

Society was held December 11, 1885—Hon. Edmund L. Dana, president, in the chair. Among the donations to the Society was a portrait of the Chevalier de la Luzerne (from whom Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, was named), from Hon. Eckley B. Coxe. A brief paper of historical notes on the Chevalier was read by Mr. A. H. McClintock. A very interesting paper on the early history of Dallas township, was read by the author, Mr. Wm. Penn Ryman.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Among the valuable papers read at the meeting of this Society, December 23, was one by Mr. Thayer on the Popham Colony, which proved to be a thorough collation and discussion of all the evidence concerning the voyage, the landfall, the settlement, the misfortunes, and the final dispersion of this famous colony. At the evening session, Mr. E. H. Elwell read a paper on the British view of the Ashburton Treaty, showing that the British statesmen, privately, were greatly pleased with the result of the negotiation, believing that they had overreached the American diplomatists.

The president, Mr. Bradbury, spoke of a circumstance which had come under his own observation. By the Ashburton Treaty the contracting governments agreed to indemnify those settlers along the newly defined border whose titles might be invalidated by the provisions of the treaty. When State surveys were made in 1845, the State of Maine promptly gave to the settlers on this side of the border who held their lands under English grants, deeds to secure their titles. This assumption by the

State of debts payable by the United States was afterwards, through Mr. Bradbury's efforts, recognized by Congress, and a bill granting Maine a moderate recompense was passed.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its meeting on the 29th of December, President Gammell in the chair, listened to an able and interesting paper from George C. Mason, Jr., of New York, Secretary of the American Institute of Architects, the subject of which was: "Apprenticeship and the Manual Training System." He said: "As a people, the citizens of the United States are progressive, and possess in a marked degree those qualities which combine to push men forward, out and above humble surroundings, to positions of influence and distinction. The rapidity with which men have frequently risen and accumulated wealth in all conditions in life, is calculated to inspire their youthful followers with a similar ambition; but it also serves to unbalance the minds of the weaker aspirants who fail to realize that behind the halo surrounding successful achievements lies a background of hard, self-sacrificing labor, when as apprentice, journeyman, foreman, and master builder, the wealthy contractor laid the foundation of his success, enabling him, when the opportunity for distinction came, to grasp the chance with a hand trained to execute, and a mind fitted to command the obedience and respect of his assistants. The paths by which the elder mechanics attained their skill and knowledge are now practically obsolete and must be looked upon as forming a chapter in the history of the past.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW-BURGH BAY AND THE HIGHLANDS, held a meeting on the evening of December 9, on which occasion Mr. E. M. Rutenber read an interesting and exhaustive paper on the military organizations in that section of the State. He said, after mentioning some distinctively New York Continental regiments, that there were others in which the State was largely represented—notably, what were known as the Canadian regiments and Colonel Lamb's and Colonel Stevens' artillery, the former, though recruited under Washington, being composed almost wholly of New York men and so credited. "And it may be added, that whatever the organization, the men in all the Revolutionary regiments of New York were almost wholly drawn from the belt of the Hudson valley, from the Highlands to Lake Champlain—for south of the Highlands the British had possession—although some excellent officers and men, McDougal, Hamilton, Lamb, and others, were drawn from New York city in the early stages of the war. The West, we all know, was sparsely settled and filled with savage British allies. It has been stated, and no doubt with truth, that in the belt of country which I have described in general terms, every male inhabitant capable of bearing arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, was in the field, for long or short periods." The subject being one of general interest the Society may be congratulated on having within call men of such acknowledged ability to aid in the preservation of the history of the region. It is pleasing to learn that so many are interested in these historical researches, the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

## BOOK NOTICES

**COUNTRY LIFE IN CANADA** fifty years ago: Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian. By CANNIFF HAIGHT. Crown 8vo, pp. 303. 1885. Hunter, Rose & Co., Toronto, Canada.

This volume is one of surpassing interest. The author has drawn a vivid pen picture of life in the Canadian country, which brings us into the closest relation with the people of half a century ago. We learn of their corn huskings, raisings, and quilting-bees, of their sugar and cider making, of their sheep-washing, pigeon shooting and coon hunting, with moving accidents by flood and field. The book is enlivened by anecdotes, and presented in a style of such felicity that there is not a dull page from cover to cover. At the same time it abounds with priceless information on innumerable subjects. "Carriages," writes Mr. Haight, "were not kept, for the simple reason that the farmers seldom had occasion to use them. He rarely went from home, and when he did he mounted his horse or drove in his lumber-wagon to market or to meeting. He usually had one or two wagon-chairs, as they were called, which would hold two persons very comfortably. These were put in the wagon and a buffalo skin thrown over them, and then the vehicle was equipped for the Sunday drive. There was a light wagon kept for the old people to drive about in, the box of which rested on the axles. The seat, however, was secured to wooden springs, which made it somewhat more comfortable to ride in. Musical instruments were almost unknown except by name. A stray fiddler, as I have said elsewhere, was about the only musician that ever delighted the ear of young or old in those days. I do not know that there was a piano in the Province." The author tells us of the early schools, newspapers, and churches; of banks, insurance, and telegraph companies; and of the progress of roads, stages, and steamboats. The work is well illustrated, and a fine portrait of the author forms the frontispiece.

**THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN BROWN.** Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia. Edited by F. B. SANBORN. 16mo, pp. 645. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

To a hardheaded and practical generation of readers, Mr. Sanborn's assertion that his hero "believed himself to be, in fact was divinely inspired," comes with a certain not altogether acceptable suggestion of fanaticism. Indeed it is the only possible ground upon which the most thrilling events in the "grizzly fighter's" career can be justified. Justification, however, is not Mr. Sanborn's principal aim. In a casual way,

to be sure, the reader feels that every act of the hero is fully justified in the author's own belief, but it is because he was in the hands of an overruling Providence. It was destiny that saved his life during the deadly border-feuds that made Kansas a free State. It was destiny rather than John Brown that ordered "the Pottawattomic executions," as Mr. Sanborn calls them. The task of editing John Brown's correspondence with such convictions regarding the inspired frame of their author must have been congenial. In themselves the letters are not particularly entertaining, though in many of them there shines out that uncultured literary aptitude which no amount of practice can bestow upon one who has not "the gift." Upon the most conspicuous event in Brown's life—the capture of Harper's Ferry and the subsequent trial and execution—it does not seem to us that much new light is thrown. All the proceedings after the blow was struck became public property in a few hours, and although the telegraphic and press facilities were not so great then as they are now, every succeeding incident up to the time of the execution was fully exploited in the newspapers. There is, however, much that is new concerning the period of concealment in Virginia which preceded the final outbreak. The letters written during this time of peril are full of interest and afford glimpses of the large and tender heart of the stern reformer, which no amount of fine writing could by any means approach. We have tried in vain to fancy the frame of mind in which a "reconstructed rebel" would read this book. We doubt if there are any such who are capable of detecting the true nobility of soul which lay at the foundation of this "Martyr's" character. To Southrons he must always remain the symbolic figure of ultra abolitionism, and, as such, his memory must in the nature of things be execrated. To those of us, however, who have marched into battle to the tune that bears the old hero's name there is a certain sacredness in the association. Fanatic as he was—wrongheaded as he was, he laid down his life gallantly and unhesitatingly in a cause which he believed to be just, and which finally triumphed. Mr. Sanborn's book as it seems to us might have been better arranged so as to lend a more accurate and probably a more picturesque sequence to events, but it must forever remain the final source of information regarding the private life and character of "Ossawatimic Brown."

**THE FIRST NAPOLEON.** A sketch, Political and Military. By JOHN CODMAN ROPES. 12mo, pp. 347. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"It was no soldier's ambition that carried the great conqueror from Madrid to Moscow." Such is the text with which the author of the volume before us starts out upon the much traveled literary roads that follow the course of the First Empire. The idea is not altogether a new one. A generation ago admirers of Napoleon alleged that all his armies could be traced through Europe simply by following the lines of greatest intelligence. This phase of the Napoleonic era however has not been so voluminously discussed as its opposite, and Mr. Ropes may fairly lay claim to certain recognition, not as an actual pioneer, but as an enterprising explorer where the trails are not very well worn. The French Revolution, he admits, had a mission, and gave better governments to Western Europe than they had enjoyed before. But he holds that these populations were by no means ready for self-government, and that to confer civil rights upon the peasantry and the bourgeois was in the nature of things impracticable. The bloody history of the Napoleonic wars he thinks was in the nature of an irrepressible conflict between liberty and despotism, with the great leader on the side of liberty. He asserts his belief that Napoleon's aim was "the establishment of a sort of federative Union under the protection of France, of the states lying west of the Elbe, the Tyrol and the Adriatic, which should accept the modern ideas of equality and toleration, and which were thenceforth to be free to mould their institutions in accordance with the views of an enlightened policy accommodated to the growing political capacity of the populations from the direction of Berlin, St. Petersburg or Vienna." To most readers of history the idea is unfamiliar that had Napoleon succeeded he would have gone down to posterity as an apostle of human liberty. In supposing this theory there are, as may be inferred, sundry difficulties to be overcome or circumvented. Mr. Ropes engages these with a clear comprehension of their force, and certainly makes a very good showing for his side of what will soon be a century-old question. The author of this volume is already well known to the reading public as having written "The Army under Pope," one of the best of the Messrs. Scribners' admirable series—"Campaigns of the Civil War." Since Mr. Dorsey Gardner's "Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo," we do not recall any contribution to the literature of this controversy so well worth the attention of general readers as the present volume. It is suggestive, able, clear, and earnest, and as such commands attention on its own merits.

THE DAWNING. A Novel. 16mo, pp. 382. Boston: Lee & Sheppard. 1886.

There is a great deal of dialogue in this

anonymous novel, a great deal of reaching forth toward the better state of things, which we all hope for, but which seems so very remote. These novels with a purpose, and that purpose the righting of the wrongs of the laboring classes, mean something. They show, however they may fail in setting the literary world on fire, that the tendency is toward the light. We can recall half a dozen novels with a like theme which have appeared within a twelve-month, and it is but now that we hear of the largely increased subscription list of a metropolitan journal that has recently made the cause of labor its own. We cannot accord very high praise to *The Dawning* as a literary effort. The author's spirit is willing, but his or her strength seems hardly adequate to the self-imposed task.

THE SILENT SOUTH, together with the Freedman's Case in Equity and the Convict System. By GEORGE W. CABLE. With portrait. 12mo, pp. 180. 1885. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"The greatest social problem before the American people to-day," says Mr. Cable, "is, as it has been for a hundred years, the presence of the negro. No comparable entanglement was ever drawn round itself by any other modern nation with so serene a disregard of its ultimate issue, or with a more distinct national responsibility. The African slave was brought here by cruel force, and with everybody's consent except his own. Everywhere the practice was favored as a measure of common aggrandizement. When a few men and women protested they were mobbed in the public interest with the public consent. There rests, therefore, a moral responsibility on the whole nation never to lose sight of the results of African slavery until they cease to work mischief and injustice." With this comprehensive text the volume opens. Mr. Cable having embodied his two recent essays upon the social and political status of the negro under one general title. He writes with much force, asking the significant question, "Is the freedman a free man?" and giving the terse answer "No." He shows how "slavery first brought war upon the land, and then grafted into the citizenship of one of the most intelligent nations in the world six millions of people from one of the most debased races on the globe." But he does not in either essays invade the domain of social privileges. In discussing "the right to rule," he says: "It is not the right to oppress. It is not the right to decree who may or not earn any status within the reach of his proper powers. In America to rule is to serve."

The convict-lease system in the Southern States, an essay first printed in 1883, occupies

sixty-seven pages, concluding the volume. Mr. Cable's arguments are in many instances unanswerable. The system in its practice defeats its purposes, and is brutally cruel. It has not one redeeming feature. As the author pertinently declares: "Every system is liable to mismanagement, but there are systems under which mismanagement is without excuse and may be impeached and punished. The lease system is itself the most atrocious mismanagement."

**MCCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC**, together with a Tribute to his Memory. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. 12mo, pp. 150. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Three of the papers comprised in this volume originally appeared in the *North American Review*, and then attracted a full share of attention. The fourth, a worthy tribute to the noble character of the deceased soldier, was published in one of the metropolitan journals immediately after General McClellan's death. These papers come before the public with an unusual guarantee of trustworthiness. That they are from the pen of a near personal friend of General McClellan, will detract from their value only in the eyes of his enemies, and the few who still cherish the personal animosities of the last generation. Those who appreciate the native nobility of McClellan's character, whatever may be their opinion of his generalship, will read these essays and the author's tribute to his friend's memory, with a deep interest. That General McClellan was unwarrantably interfered with by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers when in command of the Army of the Potomac, probably few disinterested persons will now deny, and the magnanimity with which, after having been cruelly set aside, he came to the rescue of the army and of the capital, must ever be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. Anything from the pen of Mr. Curtis is worth reading for its own sake, and his subject in the present instance calls out his best powers as an essayist. It would seem that the fates conspired to keep General McClellan's fame in the background, for his death occurred so soon after that of General Grant, that the one event somewhat cast the other into the shade. The phenomenal success of General Grant's book, too, tends to overshadow other works bearing upon the civil war and the actors in its mighty drama. Nevertheless this tribute to an essentially noble and patriotic soldier deserves a worthy welcome from intelligent readers.

**COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Vol. XIII. For the year 1880. 8vo, pp. 489. Publica-

tion Fund Series. New York: Printed for the Society.

Some miscellaneous papers of unusual interest are to be found in this volume. The trials by Court-Martial of Generals Schuyler, Howe, and St. Clair, together with the Journal and Correspondence of the British Commissary, Rainsford, are reproduced as among the most important documents of the War of Independence. Another document, "the Case of William Atwood, 1703," which occupies seventy-eight pages, is almost unknown to our historians, although it contains matter of extraordinary value for the illustration of the history of men and events during a time of great partisan excitement, which had a lasting influence through all the subsequent Colonial period. Then follows the Funeral Sermon on the death of Lord Lovelace in 1709, which is believed to be the only work preserved in print of Rev. Wm. Vesey, first Rector of Trinity Church. The volume is provided with a valuable index.

**ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND.** Third volume. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636—1667. William Hand Browne, Editor. Large 8vo, pp. 586. Baltimore, 1885. Maryland Historical Society.

In the preface to this valuable volume we are told that the advice of Bacon's, in his "Essays on Plantations," was carried out in the Proprietary Government of Maryland. Except on those few occasions when the Proprietary was present in person, his authority and rights were represented by a Lieutenant-General or Governor, whose very ample commission gave him full Executive powers in both peace and war, limited only by the law and his official oath. He was appointed by the Proprietary and held office during his pleasure. He was assisted by a Council, in like manner appointed, of which the members were chiefly influential colonists, and their duties were various. Naturally the records were of a miscellaneous character. This mass of documentary material has been sifted and assorted in a judicious manner, and its value to students of history cannot easily be estimated. A copy of the Charter of Maryland, in Latin, from the Patent Rolls in the Public Record office, London, occupies the opening pages of the volume. The whole work has been very ably executed.

**THE MARSHAL FAMILY;** or, a Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of John Marshall and Elizabeth Markham, his wife; with Sketches of Individuals and Notices of Families connected with them. With a portrait of

Chief Justice Marshall. By WILLIAM M. PAXTON. 8vo, pp. 425. 1885. Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co.

This work is not confined to the Marshalls. Many of the leading families of Kentucky and Virginia, connected with the Marshalls by marriage, will find interesting charts of their own ancestors. The Author has spent many years collecting the materials and arranging this valuable record. He traces the Marshalls from the myths and legends of past generations down to the birth of the last child. Nearly every date of birth, marriage, or death is recorded; and he has given sketches of many hundreds of the most eminent of this distinguished family. A copious index facilitates reference. The chart is a work of art. About eleven hundred names are arranged as radii issuing from the central and original pair, in six concentric circles, or generations; and every individual is numbered and indexed so as to be conveniently found. The whole Marshall family, except the seventh generation of infants, appear at one view, and any member may trace his ancestry or his posterity with facility and unerring certainty. This chart embraces in itself a whole volume. The portrait of Chief Justice Marshall is exquisitely printed on steel.

SE-QUO-YAH, the American Cadmus and Modern Moses. A complete biography of the greatest of red men. By GEO. E. FOSTER. 12mo, pp. 244. Philadelphia and Milford, New Hampshire. 1885.

Se-quo-yah was the first Indian who ever achieved fame as an inventor. He was born in 1770, and his Cherokee cradle was a piece of dried buffalo hide cut in proper shape, then turned on itself and fastened together with strings. He was reared by his energetic mother, and, as he grew toward manhood, developed great mechanical ingenuity. He became foremost in whatever he undertook, was the best silversmith of his tribe, then a blacksmith, and, finally, it became the mania of his life to make books. He first made pictures to represent words, then signs, and next hit upon a plan for dividing words into syllables. The chiefs of the nation called him crazy, but he persevered until he had invented an alphabet for the Cherokees. Then he taught the bright young men of his tribe to read and write, and learning soon became popular, the braves even giving up their hunting and fishing, to a certain extent, in order to indulge in letter writing as an amusement. The author of this volume traces all these remarkable events in detail with painstaking care, and tells the reader of the founding and progress of newspapers, and how the Cherokees became not only a grateful but a law-abiding people. The book

is interesting from the first page to the last, and is a most acceptable contribution to the historic literature of America.

TRANSACTIONS AND REPORTS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. Edited by ROBERT W. FURNAS. 8vo, pp. 233. 1885. Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co.

The first publication of this Society has much more than local interest. It presents an account of the formation and organization of an historic institution in a city which had its birth but recently, even within the memory of most of us, and chronicles the incidents and events attending the early settlement of the whole region. A series of biographical sketches of such men as Governor Francis Burt, Hon. Phineas W. Hitchcock, Bishop Robert H. Clarkson, Dr. Enos Lowe, Rev. William McCandlish, Rev. Alvin G. White, Hon. John Taffe, and Elder J. M. Young, will prove exceedingly valuable data in all the future. President Furnas, in his annual address of 1880, truly says, "the study of history deserves serious attention, if only for a knowledge of transactions, and inquiry into the *cras* when each happened;" and, further, "that we make as well study history." The object of this organization—to collect whatever is worthy of preservation in an historical sense, and to encourage historical research—will result in far riper and better fruit from having thus early been recognized as of the first importance.

RELIGIOUS TESTS in Provincial Pennsylvania. By CHARLES J. STILLÉ. Square 8vo, pp. 53. Pamphlet.

This elegantly printed little work embodies a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the 9th of November, 1885. It is an able exposition of the topic defined by its title. The author shows, by a brief review of the situation, that throughout the colonies, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the man who did not conform to the established religion of the colony, whether it was Congregationalism in New England or the Episcopal form elsewhere, was not in the same position in regard to the enjoyment of either civil or religious rights as he who did conform. If he were a Roman Catholic he was everywhere wholly disfranchised. As for William Penn's "Holy Experiment," we are told how it failed, "not from a lack of faith on the part of the projector, but from lack of money."

HYPERÆSTHESIA. A Novel. By MARY CRUGER. 16mo, pp. 400. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1885.

A great many people will need to be told what the above long word means. We shall

not enlighten them by a direct definition. If an adequate dictionary is not at hand, it ought to be. Suffice it that the story deals with what we may—accepting the author's lead—describe familiarly as the neurasthenia which prevails among Americans, especially women. The scenery is arranged upon that popular stage, the summer hotel, and the characters are such as all observant frequenters of such resorts must have encountered. The book is well written, and evinces a familiarity with social life in highly fashionable circles.

COLONIAL NEW YORK. Philip Schuyler and his Family. By GEORGE W. SCHUYLER. In two volumes. 8vo, pp. 1043. 1885. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

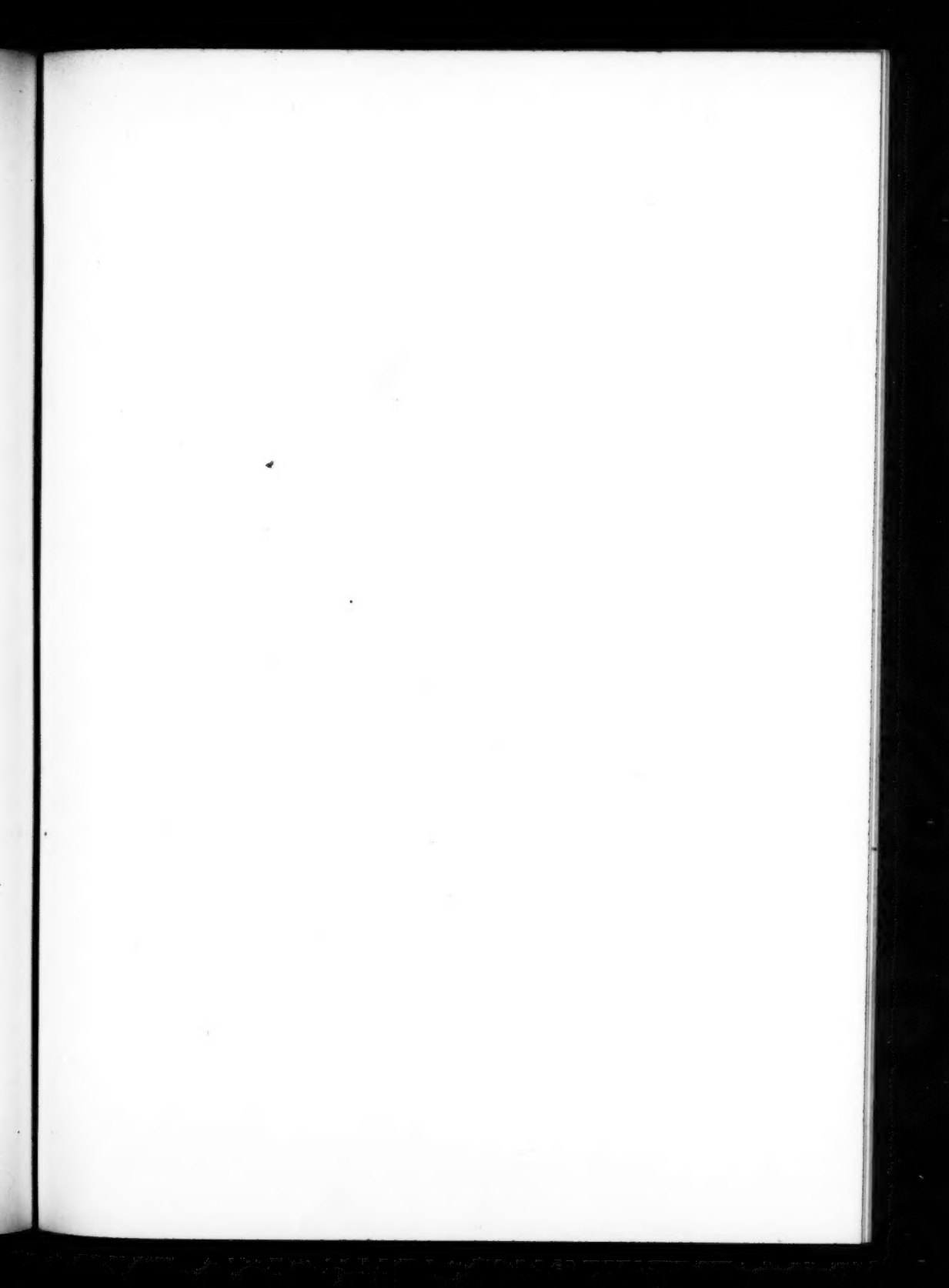
We are always glad to welcome any new work which adds fresh material to the storehouse of historical information. Mr. Schuyler has done good service to the genealogical scholar through his long years of painstaking study into the genealogy and history of the Schuyler family of Albany. He publishes the original family record of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, translated from the Dutch by Mr. Alofsen, of Holland; together with the genealogical table, naming each of the children of the first settler of the name in America. He gives us brief sketches and elaborate genealogical tables also of the families with whom these children intermarried, all of whom were more or less connected with the public affairs of Colonial New York—as, for instance, those of Van Rensselaer, Staats, Lansing, Bogart and numerous others. Forty or more pages are devoted in the second volume to the history of Arent Schuyler and his New Jersey descendants. Arent Schuyler was not, however, the ancestor of all the New Jersey Schuylers; and Mr. Schuyler explains how other branches of the family settled in that State. One interesting chapter of considerable length treats of Anneke Jans and her famous estate, so intimately associated with the growth and prosperity of Trinity Church. This will attract attention among her hosts of heirs in every part of the land. Of the Scribner family, the author informs us, that the first of the name in America was Matthew Scrivener, a member of the Council of the Virginia Colony in 1607. He further says, "Benjamin Scrivener, of Norwalk, Connecticut, is reputed to be the ancestor of the Scribners in

the United States. He adhered to the name of Scrivener. The town clerk, when recording the names of his grandchildren, born after 1742, wrote Scribner, doubtless by direction of their parents. From that time Scrivener disappears, and Scribner becomes the surname of all of Benjamin Scrivener's descendants." Such changes in names were frequent in the Colonial period. The genealogical table of the Scribner family follows, with many informing notes from the author's pen. "Charles Scribner was a graduate of Princeton College, in the class with his brother William. He commenced the study of law, but, being of a delicate constitution, he could not endure the confinement of an office, and sought a less sedentary occupation. He finally connected himself with Mr. Baker, already established in the publishing business in New York. After the death of his partner he greatly extended his business, becoming in a few years one of the most prominent men in the trade. He established the magazine known as *Scribner's Monthly*, which had a circulation at home and abroad inferior to only one in the United States."

In general history, Mr. Schuyler has drawn from the usual sources accessible to all students, and presents little that is new to the reading world. He introduces it as a frame-work to his genealogical tables; but many of his biographical studies add special value to the volumes.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. II., Part 8vo, pp. 134. Pamphlet. 1885. Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania

Among the papers embodied in this volume, an illustrated archaeological report on the Athens locality, is one of the most notably interesting. This paper was read before the learned Society by Harrison Wright, Ph.D., who, after explaining the purpose of the Committee of which he was Chairman, says: "Our first discovery was a grave about twelve feet north of the original grave. By great good luck in our first excavation, we came directly upon a skull eighteen inches below the surface of the ground—part of the skeleton of a man above the medium height, buried in a sitting posture." The archaeological specimens obtained are preserved with great care, as valuable historical data bearing upon the early history of the North American Indian.





*W. T. Sherman*

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### VAN CORTLANDT MANOR-HOUSE

THE period from 1683 to 1688—the five years during which Thomas Dongan, afterward Earl of Limerick, governed New York—was one of important beginnings. We have seen how Albany blossomed into a city in 1686. The forces that were to transform the picturesque wilderness along the line of the Hudson into a garden of beauty were already at work. In the midst of scenery unsurpassed by any in Europe, hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest land in the world were changing owners. The forest kings traded off their possessions with undisguised pleasure; taking as much pride apparently in the buttons and brass-kettles they received in return as the new proprietors did in the fact that all their wonderful acquisitions were the result of honest purchase.

Governor Dongan found it necessary to visit Albany very often during his administration, as the Iroquois were restless and treacherous, and the relations between New York and Canada of the most delicate character. Every effort which ingenuity could devise was made to retain the favor of the dusky warriors, who were the only wall of separation between an unprotected colony and an always possible foe. The character of the French was well understood by Dongan, who not so very long before had commanded an Irish regiment under Louis XIV., in the French and Dutch war, and he was therefore the more intense in his study of the Indians as a race. In maturing the wise policy which was to preserve her boundary from foreign encroachments, and give New York commercial ascendancy on this continent, he was greatly influenced in his judgments through the signs of promise observable from the slow sailing-vessel that bore him to and fro between the metropolis and Albany, and he was materially assisted in every emergency by the intelligent, far-sighted men of the province.

Prominent among these were Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Frederick Philipse—the only two mentioned by name as Counselors by the Duke of York in his original instructions to Dongan, dated January 27, 1683; and both gentlemen were reappointed to the same high office by James as King of England, May 29, 1686. They had been styled by Sir Edward